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ABSTRACT

This document comprises the two 1997 issues of the journal. Articles include the following: "The Importance of Learning English: A National Survey of Hispanic Parents" (Michael La Velle); "The Languages of Immigrants" (Charles L. Glenn); "Follow-Up Study on the Bethlehem, PA School District's English Acquisition Program" (Ann Goldberg); "The Cost of Bilingual Education: Updating a National Study" (Terry Graham); "LEP Students in Secondary Schools: A Critique of the U.S. Department of Education Study" (Kevin Clark); "Irreconcilable Differences: Two Approaches to Educating LEP Students" (Barbara Mujica); "How Immigrants Fare in U.S. Education" (Georges Vernez and Allan Abrahamse with Denise Quigley); and "What Does the National Research Council Study Tell Us about Educating Language Minority Children?" (Charles L. Glenn). Extensive references, appendices with data, and survey instruments are included with some articles. (KFT)

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READ Perspectives, 1997.

By, Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Ed.
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READ PERSPECTIVES

SPRING 1997 · VOL. IV, NO. 1

INSIDE:

The Importance of Learning English: A National Survey of Hispanic Parents
– Center for Equal Opportunity

The Languages of Immigrants, excerpted from *Language Minority Children in School: A Comparative Study of Twelve Nations*
– Charles L. Glenn

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– Ann Goldberg

The Cost of Bilingual Education: Updating a National Study
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INTRODUCTION

The varieties of ethnic groups and the numbers of immigrants in the U.S. population change from year to year. It makes good sense, if we are to be in touch with the priorities and aspirations of these our newest Americans, to "take the pulse" of immigrant parents regularly, to find out what they want for their children's education. A widely circulated *National Survey of Hispanic Parents* was published in September 1996 by the Center for Equal Opportunity in Washington, DC. *READ Perspectives,* by permission of the Center for Equal Opportunity, reprints the complete Executive Summary of the survey, including the 22-item Questionnaire and a breakdown (by percentage points and by actual count) of the responses elicited.

Six hundred interviews were conducted, in English or Spanish, in five major U.S. cities. Two major conclusions are reported: that an overwhelming priority of Hispanic parents is their children's learning to read and write English before Spanish (63 percent vs. 17 percent), and that limited-English students should be taught their school subjects in English rather than in Spanish (81 percent vs. 12 percent). These attitudes were expressed almost universally, as stated in the Executive Summary:

> The greater priority placed on learning English versus learning Spanish occurred consistently across all major subgroupings of the sample population. All were more likely to rank learning English as a more important goal than learning Spanish: respondents in all five metropolitan areas, regardless of ethnic background; regardless of educational level; regardless of whether they currently, formerly, or never have had a child in a language program. Females were slightly more likely to prefer English than were males. (National Survey, 5)

In the best of all possible worlds, educators and policy-makers would take such information as is reported in the National Survey into account when planning programs for limited-English students, over 60 percent of whom are from Spanish-speaking homes. *READ Perspectives* will continue to publish new information as it becomes available, in the cherished hope that it bolsters the case of those citizens who are working to promote improved schooling for Hispanic students.

READ Perspectives was privileged to review a copy of Professor Charles L. Glenn's new book, *Language Minority Children in School: A Comparative Study of Twelve Nations* (Garland Publications, New York, 1996). We highly recommend this impressive, 2-volume study of language and education policies and practices in twelve countries, including the United States. Glenn, a member of the READ Institute Academic Panel, is an internationally renowned expert in the education of language minority populations. Garland Publications gave permission for an excerpt from Chapter 5, "The Languages of Immigrants," to be reprinted in this issue of *READ Perspectives*.

Glenn reveals the wide variety of opinions and attitudes on the importance to immigrants of maintaining their original language and culture and of seeing them perpetuated in their children and grandchildren. Strikingly different, sometimes contradictory, attitudes are reported in different communities and countries. Often the same group will express a strong attitude that is not followed through with actions. For example, in two surveys of Mexican-Americans in California, 75–85 percent said it was very important to preserve the Spanish language for their children and that their children should speak Spanish well, but in their daily lives they did not consistently speak only Spanish at home, in order to promote this goal. (Skerry, cited in Glenn, p. 195)

The factors that lead to the abandonment or the maintenance of immigrant languages are described in detail, drawing on a rich assortment of examples from several countries. It is well known that immigrant families in the U.S. typically follow this pattern of language shift: within two to three generations at most, the original language has been entirely replaced by English, for social and economic reasons. Spanish is the exception in states where established communities continue to receive large numbers of new immigrants (Florida, California, New York) and where institutions support the language (newspapers, shops, churches). It appears that the "rate of anglicization" is declining in California, making it easier for Hispanics to continue the use of Spanish as their primary language. Certainly this statement by Miami Mayor Ferre in 1983 foresees no rapid shift to English in that city:

> You can be born here in a Cuban hospital, be baptized by a Cuban priest, buy all your food from a Cuban grocer, take your insurance from a Cuban bank. You can get all the news in Spanish.... You can go through life without having to speak English at all. (Glenn, p. 198)

Glenn concludes from his research that a strong interest in ethnic language maintenance may be more typical of those who have been successful in "making it" in the host country than of those who are on the bottom rung of the ladder of opportunity. Leaders of Mexican-American and Puerto Rican groups in the U.S. overwhelmingly support bilingual education as a means of maintaining the use of Spanish, which they describe as a fundamental "right," yet very few native-born members of these groups use the language consistently in their homes, which is the only way a minority language is maintained. (Glenn, p. 211)

These major conclusions that apply in most countries may be fairly drawn from the wealth of information in this section: as a rule, people will not keep up two languages indefinitely when one language serves their needs; people will maintain valued elements of culture (religion, festivals, foods) from one generation to the next, even as they give up the use of a language that separates them more sharply than do private cultural traditions from the mainstream of the host country; and most researchers doubt that the maintenance of proficient, stable bilingualism is achievable. Glenn's work is thorough, responsible, and written with style.

The *READ Perspectives* editorial staff made a policy decision to publish updates on earlier reports when new data become available that would make a useful contribution to the literature. With this in mind, we attempted to secure follow-up data on the New York City Public Schools longitudinal study published in October 1994, hoping to obtain another two years' test scores on limited-English student achievement. (A review of the New York study by Barbara Mujica was published in the fall 1995 issue of *READ Perspectives.*) Calls to administrative offices of the New York City Public Schools, and finally to the school board, seem to indicate either that data is not being collected, that it is not being analyzed, or that it is not going to be reported to the public. For now we can only guess, but *READ* will pursue this project again in the future.

Consistent with our policy, we commissioned an update by Program Coordinator Ann Goldberg on the Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Area School District English Acquisition Program, now that it has completed three full years in operation, to begin ascertaining what progress is being made by Bethlehem's limited-English students. The new Bethlehem program was fully described in the fall 1995 *READ Perspectives.* The school district's Internal Evaluation Team generated a list of questions to measure the degrees of student progress, all of which lead back to the basic question: Is the English Acquisition Program producing English language fluency in the shortest amount of time so that students have the best opportunity for success in school?

Bethlehem's professional staff is to be highly commended for its openness in reporting strengths and weaknesses in the program and the continuing need for additional improvements. These important results are reported, and they will gladden the hearts of those who wish Bethlehem success in its new venture:

1. Of the limited-English students who have entered the new program and remained in the Bethlehem schools over the past three years, 24 percent have successfully "exited" from the English language program. *All* elementary school students are working, with varying degrees of support, in mainstream classrooms;
2. The grade point average of high school students who exited the English language program and are enrolled in academic track courses is 2.6 (out of 4.0), considered average to good;
3. Average standardized test scores in reading and math for elementary school limited-English students in grades 1-6 who have reached the advanced level of English are in the average percentile range (25 percent to 75 percent) which, in an urban district enrolling many children from families of poverty, is a fairly good performance.

Given the high rate of transiency of bilingual families, it is always difficult to maintain records when children may move several times in one school year. Since 1993 Bethlehem has instituted better data collection and record-keeping on each limited-English student's background and school performance. Hence they can report with accuracy that the district rate for "graduating" students from its new English Acquisition Program to mainstream classrooms stands at 24 percent in its first few years. This record of student achievement in acquiring fluency and literacy in English contrasts sharply with the exit rates reported in California, the state with the highest number of students in bilingual programs. For example, the twelve school districts in the vicinity of Anaheim, California, which enroll about 90,000 limited-English students, averaged an exit rate of 4 percent per year for 1993, 1994 and 1995 (H.G. Martin, "Bilingual education system rewarded for failure," May 1995 [unpublished ms.]) There are strong indications that Bethlehem's rate of successful program exit for English language learners will gradually improve. *READ* will report again in 1998.

To protect Bethlehem from some unnecessary criticism about their program evaluation, a "disclaimer" is stated here. The READ Institute and the Bethlehem school administrators do not pretend to be reporting on a classic education research study. The current essay is a qualitative, descriptive report on the development of the English Acquisition Program, the details of its operation, and the achievement of its students, not a comparison of two programs with random assignment of subjects. The READ Institute presents descriptive data on Bethlehem to show how a district can change from almost twenty years of mostly Spanish language instruction to an intensive English language immersion program from kindergarten through twelfth grade.

The final essay in the current volume is a brief review of the national cost of bilingual education based on the 1993–94 update published by the U.S. English Foundation. The original study, covering 1991–92, was reviewed fully by Marsha Youngblood in the spring 1995 issue of *READ Perspectives*. As we anticipated in the first article, the number of limited-English students in U.S. public schools continues to increase at a higher rate than the rest of the school population; most of these students (86 percent) are still concentrated in the same ten states; a much larger portion of funding goes to programs using native language instruction (63 percent) than to English language programs (27 percent), but funding for ESL programs has risen since the earlier report when the proportions were 60 percent to 20 percent. The cost of educating these students has risen from $10 billion to $12.6 billion in 1993–94 and is projected to rise to $15 billion in 1995 and to $18 billion in 1996, still with no reliable data on what outcomes in student achievement are connected to these expenditures. Of special interest to school administrators and legislators is the chart detailing spending on bilingual students and the numbers enrolled in different programs, state by state, as well as these figures can be determined.

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Editor
READ Perspectives

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THE IMPORTANCE OF LEARNING ENGLISH: A NATIONAL SURVEY OF HISPANIC PARENTS

Michael La Velle*

This memo summarizes the results of a survey of Hispanic parents of school age children, conducted on behalf of the Center for Equal Opportunity, during July–August 1996. In all, 600 interviews were completed with Hispanic parents, each with one or more children currently in school (first grade through high school). Respondent selection occurred within five Metropolitan areas in which Hispanics are relatively heavily concentrated, viz., Los Angeles, New York, Miami, San Antonio and Houston. Questionnaires were administered via telephone, by professionally trained, bi-lingual interviewers calling from a central data collection facility located in San Diego, California.

The purpose of the survey was to document the experience of Hispanic parents with school programs designed for children needing help with English, and to ascertain Hispanic parents' attitudes regarding the goals and practices of such programs. Since, nationally, Hispanics account for the majority of the clientele of school programs for children needing help with English, the present study should be of more than academic interest. In fact, the results of the survey have clear and important implications from a social policy planning viewpoint.

In addition to the substantive questions on the survey related to the goals and practices of school programs for children needing help with English, respondents were also asked a series of socio-demographic background questions. This allows the sample to be segmented for analysis purposes. For example, variations in responses can be systematically analyzed for patterns of similarity or difference based on age, gender, educational level, ethnicity, geographical region, length of time in the U.S., language spoken, and so on.

The results of a survey of 600 randomly selected respondents is statistically accurate to within plus or minus 4.0 percent at the 95 percent confidence level.

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*MICHAEL LA VELLE is the President of Diversified Research Inc., a company commissioned by the Center for Equal Opportunity to analyze the results of a national survey conducted by Market Development Inc. Reprinted by permission.

Table 1
Percentage of Hispanic Parents Ranking each Goal

	Most Important	Second Most Important
Learning to read, write, and speak English	51.0%	18.8%
Learning academic subjects like math, history, science	23.3	30.7
Learning to read, write, and speak Spanish	11.0	25.5
Learning about Hispanic culture	4.3	8.5
Learning extras like music, arts, and sports	3.7	8.8

This means that 95 times out of 100, the results will fall within a range of plus or minus 4.0 percentage points of the results one would obtain from interviewing the entire population from which the sample was drawn.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Respondents were read, in random order, a list of five educational goals and asked to rank them by indicating which they considered to be *most* important, which *second most* important, and so on. The five educational goals are listed in Table 1 in order of importance, as ranked by Hispanic parents.

As Table 1 shows, the majority of Hispanic parents (51.0 percent) considered *learning to read, write and speak English* to be most important among the five educational goals presented. Learning English was judged to be much more important than *learning other academic subjects, including math, history and science* (23.3 percent). This, in and of itself, attests to the importance Hispanic parents place on learning English. Perhaps most telling, however, is the relative importance of learning English versus learning Spanish. Only 11.0 percent of all respondents designated *learning to read, write and speak Spanish* as the most important goal, distantly followed by only 4.3 percent who think the top priority should be *learning about Hispanic culture.*

The greater priority placed on learning English versus learning Spanish occurred consistently across all major subgroupings of the sample population. Respondents in all five Metropolitan areas, regardless of ethnic background (Mexican, Cuban in particular, Puerto Rican, etc.), regardless of educational level, regardless of whether they currently, formerly or never have had a child in a language program, females slightly more so than males, *all* were more likely to rank learning English as a more important goal than learning Spanish.

Since all interviewers were bi-lingual, respondents had the option of being interviewed in either English or Spanish. Interestingly, those interviewed in Spanish were actually more likely to rank learning English as most important (52.2 percent) than those interviewed in English (45.1 percent). This does not mean, however, that those interviewed in English were more likely to think that learning Spanish should be the top priority. In fact, only 4.9 percent of those interviewed in English ranked learning Spanish as the most important goal. Those interviewed in English were found to be relatively likely to place great importance on *learning other academic subjects like math, history and science* (44.1 percent of those interviewed in English ranked this as the most important goal).

The relatively higher rankings attached to learning English versus learning Spanish provide strong evidence regarding the educational priorities of Hispanic parents. Another question on the survey addressed the issue not in terms of which is more important, but rather which should come first. The exact question wording can be seen in Table 2.

Once again, the results are clear cut. Hispanic parents are decisively more likely to prefer that their children be taught English as soon as possible, rather than postponing English instruction while they are being taught Spanish. While there are variations in intensity, the pattern is broadbased, with all subgroupings of the sample in agreement on this issue. For example, among those interviewed in English, 81.4 percent favor English as soon as possible. Among those interviewed in Spanish, a smaller but still significant majority

Table 2
Preference for English or Spanish as Priority

In your opinion, should children of Hispanic background, living in the United States, be taught to read and write Spanish before they are taught English, or should they be taught English as soon as possible?

	Percent
Spanish before English	16.7
English as soon as possible	63.0
Same time (volunteered)	17.3
Not sure	3.0

(59.2 percent) choose this option (only 18.3 percent of those interviewed in Spanish would prefer that children learn Spanish first).

Intensity on this issue varies directly with educational level. The higher the educational level of the respondent, the more likely they are to prefer that English be taught as soon as possible. A similar pattern prevails with respect to the length of time respondents have lived in the United States. The longer they have been here, the more likely they are to favor English as soon as possible. Cuban-Hispanics are especially adamant on this issue (70 percent want English as soon as possible).

A final question, as seen in Table 3, addressed the issue of how language instruction should interface with academic course instruction.

Table 3
Language/Academic Courses Interface

In general, which of the following comes closest to your opinion?

	Percent
1. My child should be taught his/her academic courses in Spanish, even if it means s/he will spend less time learning English	12.2%
2. My child should be taught his/her academic courses in English, because s/he will spend more time learning English	81.3
3. Unsure	6.5

The overwhelming majority of Hispanic parents want their children's academic courses to be taught in English. This is true among all sub-categories of the sample. Groups whose members are relatively most likely to insist on English include Cubans, in general, those in the United States the longest and those with the highest levels of education. Most interestingly, 82.0 percent of those with a child currently in a school program for children needing help with English would prefer that their children be taught in English.

In summary, this survey of Hispanic parents unequivocally shows that Hispanic parents place a higher priority on their children learning English over learning Spanish; that they want their children to learn English first, that is, before they are taught to read, write and speak Spanish, and to reinforce their children's English skills; that their children be taught their academic courses in English rather than in Spanish. Furthermore, these finding are broadbased—all subgroupings of the sample population share these opinions.

This having been said, the findings of this survey do not in any way suggest that Hispanic parents do not want their children to learn Spanish. It only addresses the perceived relative importance of English versus Spanish, with English being considered the more important life skill for Hispanic children living in the United States.

The implications of these findings from a social policy planning viewpoint should be obvious. Hispanic parents may want their children to learn Spanish language skills, and to learn about Spanish culture, but they certainly do not want this to occur at the expense of, or before they learn to read, write and speak English. School programs whose purpose is to provide Hispanic children with help in English should be designed with the findings of this study in mind.

APPENDIX 1

Questionnaire

Q1. How many school age (first grade through high school) children do you have, who are living at home?

One	38.7%	232
Two	36.5%	219
Three	17.2%	103
Four or more	7.7%	46
Total responses		600

Q2. Would you prefer that this interview be conducted in English or Spanish?

English	17.0%	102
Spanish	83.0%	498
Total responses		600

Q3. Is your child (are any of your children) currently in, or ever been in, a program in school for children who need help with English?

Currently in	8.3%	50
In past/not now	7.2%	43
Never been in	81.5%	489
Don't know	3.0%	18
Total responses		600

Q4. Was your child (were any of your children) ever asked to be in such a program?

Yes	12.0%	61
No	80.1%	406
Don't know	7.9%	40
Total responses		507

Q5. In what grade is your oldest child who is currently in such a program?

First	10.0%	5
Second	12.0%	6
Third	8.0%	4
Fourth	8.0%	4
Fifth	10.0%	5
Sixth	10.0%	5
Seventh	8.0%	4
Eighth	4.0%	2
Ninth	8.0%	4
Tenth	16.0%	8
Eleventh	2.0%	1
Twelfth	2.0%	1
Refused to answer	2.0%	1
Total responses		50

Q6. How many years ago was your child last in such a program?

One	37.2%	16
Two	11.6%	5
Three	9.3%	4
Four	9.3%	4
Five	9.3%	4
Six or more	18.6%	8
Don't know/ refused to answer	4.7%	2
Total responses		43

Q7. How many years has your child been in (was your child in) the program?

One	30.1%	28
Two	22.6%	21
Three	21.5%	20
Four	9.7%	9
Five	5.4%	5
Six or more	4.3%	4
Refused to answer	6.5%	6
Total responses		93

Q8. Was your child in the program a boy or a girl?

Boy	52.7%	49
Girl	47.3%	44
Total responses		93

Q9. Was your child in the program born in the United States?

Yes	45.2%	42
No	54.8%	51
Total responses		93

Q10. At what age did your child come to the United States?

One	13.7%	7
Two	3.9%	2
Three	11.8%	6
Four	2.0%	1
Five	2.0%	1
Six	11.8%	6
Seven	9.8%	5
Eight	5.9%	3
Nine	7.8%	4
Ten	3.9%	2
Eleven	2.0%	1
Twelve	3.9%	2
Thirteen	7.8%	4
Fourteen	5.9%	3
Fifteen	5.9%	3
Sixteen	2.0%	1
Total responses		51

Q11. When your child first entered the program, did he or she speak English?

Yes	12.9%	12
No	79.6%	74
Some	7.5%	7
Total responses		93

Q12. While in the program, how many of your child's lessons were taught in Spanish? Would you say most of the lessons were in Spanish, about half the lessons were in Spanish, only a small part of the lessons were in Spanish or none of the lessons were in Spanish?

Most in Spanish	26.9%	25
About half	29.0%	27
Small part	22.6%	21
No Spanish	9.7%	9
Don't know/refused	11.8%	11
Total responses		93

Q13. Please rank the following things children might learn in school in order of importance:

"Learning to read, write and speak English"

(1) Most	51.0%	306
(2) Second	18.8%	113
(3) Third	7.0%	42
(4) Fourth	6.0%	36
(5) Least	9.2%	55
Don't know/refused	8.0%	48
Total responses		600

"Learning to read, write, and speak Spanish"

(1) Most	11.0%	66
(2) Second	25.5%	153
(3) Third	21.8%	131
(4) Fourth	16.8%	101
(5) Least	15.7%	94
Don't know/refused	9.2%	55
Total responses		600

"Learning academic subjects, like math, history, science"

(1) Most	23.3%	140
(2) Second	30.7%	184
(3) Third	25.0%	150
(4) Fourth	10.0%	60
(5) Least	3.2%	19
Don't know/refused	7.8%	47
Total responses		600

"Learning about Hispanic culture"

(1) Most	4.3%	26
(2) Second	8.5%	51
(3) Third	19.7%	118
(4) Fourth	36.8%	221
(5) Least	22.2%	133
Don't know/refused	8.5%	51
Total responses		600

"Learning extras like music, art, and sports"

(1) Most	3.7%	22
(2) Second	8.8%	53
(3) Third	18.5%	111
(4) Fourth	21.2%	127
(5) Least	39.8%	239
Don't know/refused	8.0%	48
Total responses		600

Q14. In your opinion, should children of Hispanic background, living in the United States, be taught to read and write Spanish before they are taught English, or should they be taught English as soon as possible?

Spanish before English	16.7%	100
English soon/possible	63.0%	378
Same time	17.3%	104
Don't know/refused	3.0%	18
Total responses		600

Q15. In general, which of the following comes closest to your opinion?

1. My child should be taught his/her academic courses in Spanish, even if it means he/she will spend less time learning English
2. My child should be taught his/her academic courses in English, because he/she will spend more time learning English

Spanish	12.2%	73
English	81.3%	488
Don't know/refused	6.5%	39
Total responses		600

Q16. How many years of formal education have you had?

Some grade school	10.3%	62
Finished grade school	12.5%	75
Some high school	22.8%	137
Finished high school	21.8%	131
Commercial/tech	3.5%	21
Some college	11.8%	71
Finished college	12.5%	75
Graduate studies	3.0%	18
No school	1.0%	6
Refused to answer	0.7%	4
Total responses		600

Q17. What is your age?

18–25	3.5%	21
26–40	57.5%	345
41–54	31.5%	189
55–64	4.2%	25
65 or older	1.3%	8
Refused to answer	2.0%	12
Total responses		600

Q18. What is your origin of descent?

United States	11.0%	66
Mexico	47.8%	287
Cuba	8.3%	50
Puerto Rico	6.8%	41
Dominican Republic	4.2%	25
Spain	0.8%	5
Other Central America	10.5%	63
South America	9.3%	56
Other	0.3%	2
Refused to answer	0.8%	5
Total responses		600

Q19. How many years have you lived in the United States?

10 years or less	24.2%	145
11–20 years	31.3%	188
More than 20	22.2%	133
All my life	20.5%	123
Refused to answer	1.8%	11
Total responses		600

Q20. Gender:

Male	31.7%	190
Female	68.3%	410
Total responses		600

Q21. How well did respondent speak English?

(Interviewers' evaluation of language skills)

Very well	27.2%	163
Well	20.7%	124
Not well	35.5%	213
Not at all	16.7%	100
Total responses		600

Q22. Market:

Los Angeles	20.0%	120
Miami	20.0%	120
New York	20.0%	120
San Antonio	20.0%	120
Houston	20.0%	120
Total responses		600

THE LANGUAGES OF IMMIGRANTS*

Charles L. Glenn

To what extent do immigrant groups actively seek to maintain their languages? The question is hotly debated; evidence is mixed on how important immigrants *themselves* believe it is to their identity and psychological well-being, their valued relationships and hope of posterity, to maintain their original language and culture and to see them perpetuated in their children and grandchildren. Surveys often find that immigrant parents place considerable importance on their children continuing to speak the languages of their homelands, but do little to ensure such a result; many, like the parents of Richard Rodriguez, are primarily concerned to ensure, cost what it may, that their children not experience the difficulties that attended their own adjustment to life in the host society (Rodriguez, 1983).

THE PROSPECTS FOR IMMIGRANT LANGUAGES

It was very important to "preserve the Spanish language for their children," agreed 85 percent of Hispanic respondents in a California survey in 1983, and a 1987 national study found that 75 percent of Mexican American parents "said it was important that their children speak Spanish well" (Skerry, 1993, 286). On the other hand, the actual practices of these parents, as we will see, do not promote that result, nor do the children of immigrants in most cases make extensive use of the language of their parents. "The simple rule seems to be that people will not indefinitely maintain two languages where one will serve all their needs" (Edwards, 1988, 203).

Subsequent generations may feel a fair amount of guilt associated with the failure to become proficient in a language that they perceive emotionally as an important aspect of identity, even as they largely neglect its use. Portuguese youth in France, while reporting that they no longer used their home language much, expressed regret that they did not know it better (Munoz, 1987). All but two of the elementary school children from Senegal interviewed

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in another French study reported that they spoke only French with their parents; the two had been in the country for less than two years. One of the others reported that he could understand some Wolof from hearing his parents speak it with friends, but had virtually no ability to speak it (Platiel, 1989, 43). Another French study of Lao children found that Laotian was used only to talk with older family members, and that the children had difficulty mastering the complexities of polite address, thus "disorganizing the perception of relations between the generations." Most did not know the Laotian alphabet (Choron-Baix, 1989, 83).

In a study of Australian secondary school pupils, those whose parents spoke a language other than English reported their parents as mildly supportive of bilingual instruction in schools (Lewis, Rado & Foster, 1982). Immigrants from Germany were more likely than those from Macedonia (68 percent to 41 percent) to use English at home (Kalantzis, Cope & Slade, 1989, 169). Attitudes and practices vary among groups: 3 percent of Greek and 6 percent of Italian, contrasted with 44 percent of Dutch, first-generation Australians reported that they no longer used their original language at all (Smolicz, 1983, 333).

In the Netherlands, interviews with the children of Spanish immigrants found that all reported using mostly Dutch among themselves. A study of Turkish immigrant children found that, "in 12 out of 20 families, the children spoke mainly Dutch to each other, according to the parents; in four families alternately Dutch and Turkish, and in four other families primarily or only Turkish." Yugoslav children, according to another Dutch study, "lack motivation to use their mother tongue in communicating with Yugoslavian peers" (Appel, 1988, 68–69). An unusually careful study of the language proficiency of young Moroccans found that Dutch was their dominant language, and they had a good grasp of its grammatical structure, though not always a sufficient vocabulary to say what they intended to say; their ability to communicate in their "home" language (Berber or Moroccan Arabic) was "limited or poorly developed." It was inaccurate, the author suggested, to describe Dutch as their "second language;" it was rather their "language 1/2" that produced "a stagnation in the use and acquisition of their first language" (Ruiter, 1990, 16).

Most available data report the extent to which the children of immigrants have acquired proficiency in the language of the school and the host society, though of course this does not tell us whether they are fluent bilinguals or have become essentially monolingual in the majority language. German education officials estimated, in 1989, that about half of the children of immigrants could no longer be distinguished from German children with respect to language use; another 30 to 40 percent could use German reasonably well, though with some limitations ("'Mit der Nadel,'" 1989, 74). Much the same pattern exists in Sweden where, in 1982, 41 percent of the foreign pupils in grades 1–9 had "the same command of Swedish as an average Swedish pupil," while 8 percent had a very low proficiency in Swedish. This second category, pupils with a low level of proficiency in Swedish, rose as high as 25 percent among Turkish-speaking, 39 percent among Chinese-speaking, and 23 percent among speakers of Assyrian and related languages, while these groups included only 16 percent, 7 percent, and 7 percent, respectively, of fully-proficient users of Swedish (*Immigrants and Immigrant Teaching*, 1983, 38).

Such evidence as exists does not support the long-term prospects of fluent bilingualism, except under special circumstances. Post-war Polish immigrants in the United States for ten years or more, and their children, were found to have "native-like skills in English, but have not kept up Polish" (Lambert and Taylor, 1988, 169).

> Asian immigrants appear consistently more inclined to shed their native tongue than [do] those from Latin America...[but] Spanish monolingualism does not outlast the first generation. The shift toward English is massive, with up to 96 percent of U.S.-born adults adopting it as their main or only language.... A minority of about 20 percent of U.S.-born Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans continues to report use of Spanish as their preferred, though not exclusive language. (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 204)

Similarly, "Cypriot children born in the UK tended to be bilingual but often had little Greek. By 1968 Hylson-Smith claimed that many of the Greek Cypriots attending youth clubs...spoke almost no Greek. From a socio-anthropological study in the mid-1970s Constantinides (1977) also claimed that the second generation, in spite of parents' efforts, often spoke very little Greek" (Taylor, 1988, 55). "Visiting Ukrainian community centres and clubs, Khan (1976) noted that few adolescents of Ukrainian origin spoke really fluent Ukrainian and that dance classes, for example, were conducted in a mixture of English and Ukrainian, with English predominating" (Taylor, 1988, 319). Many second-generation youth do not even take advantage of chances provided in school to maintain their home language; less than 5 percent of the Turkish secondary students in Berlin, according to Fase, were taking Turkish rather than English as a foreign language (Fase, 1986, 113).

The most common pattern is for an "inter-language" to develop based upon the specific circumstances of the family, evolving toward an exclusive use of the language of the host society as more and more of the experiences of family members have taken place within that society. "Bilingualism is often a transitional state" (Ruiz, 1995, 77). This evolution can be illustrated from the responses of South Asian youth in Bradford, in England: 6 percent reported speaking English with their grandparents, 11 percent with their mothers, 16 percent with their fathers, 54 percent with their sisters, 60 percent with their brothers, and 84 percent with their friends at school recess (Reid, 1988, 185).

In Australia, "some new immigrants move between domestic interchange in their first language and the use of the host country's dominant language to explain new institutions, technologies and social relations, rather than take on the forms of their language of origin which express and manipulate life in advanced industrial quarters in their place of origin" (Kalantzis, Cope & Slade, 1989, 26). This is reminiscent of the use of English in connection with manufacturing processes in Irish-speaking parts of Ireland.

The best data on retention or loss of the languages of immigrants is from the United States, where several large-scale studies have been carried out in recent years. Research on ethnicity within American society has stressed repeatedly the almost complete loss, by second-generation Americans, of the languages spoken by their immigrant ancestors. Interviews by Waters with sixty American Catholics from various white ethnic groups found that only four claimed to speak their ancestral languages; one had studied it in school, while three had used it with their parents but had become "rusty" since the parents' death and had not taught the language to their own children (Waters, 1990, 116).

> [T]he American experience is remarkable for its near mass extinction of non-English languages: In no other country...did the rate of mother tongue shift toward (English) monolingualism approach the rapidity of that found in the United States. Within the United States, some relatively isolated groups (such as the Old Spanish, the Navaho and [some] other American Indians, and the Louisiana French) have changed at a much slower rate; but language minority immigrants shifted to English at a rate far in excess of that obtained in all other countries.... Bilingualism, American style, has been unstable and transitional—at least until recently. (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 183)

Two academic supporters of bilingual education concede that "the United States is, at the societal level, staunchly monolingual. Legislating monolingualism as a requirement for citizenship could hardly have been more successful in creating a monolingual society than have been the unofficial economic and social forces at work." Among immigrant minority groups, "only the old folks, the very young, and the recent arrivals, in general, speak these other languages; the school children and young adults have often switched to 'dominance' in English" (Snow & Hakuta, 1992, 385). Of the 270,000 Chinese Americans born in the United States, most speak English as their primary language; in 1970, less than 30,000 of those whose parents were also native-born spoke Chinese, indicating a massive shift to English (Wong, 1988, 210, 212). Filipino immigrants, already familiar with English in their homeland, make a rapid shift to exclusive use of the language on the mainland, though they may retain some use of Ilocano or Tagalog if they settle in Hawaii (Galang, 1988). This pattern of language shift among Asian immigrants in the United States is presumably related to the fact that their languages are less likely than is Spanish to have currency outside the home. On the other hand, Mexican American youth are more likely than are Asian youth to use English with their families (Baratz-Snowden & others, 1988, 38, 87). In other words, bilingual Asian youth appear to segregate the use of their two languages more sharply than do Mexican American youth.

The possible exception to the pattern of language shift is that of Spanish in the United States which, like Finnish in Sweden, is a "next door" language constantly reinforced by family and business connections with the homeland and by labor migration. Spanish is unique among immigrant languages in the United States in that "it is continually invigorated by these linguistically high-contact situations. Consequently, Spanish persists in the Hispanic population longer than other languages have remained with immigrant groups" (Arias, 1986, 42).

Some critics of immigration or of bilingual education have expressed concern that the number of Spanish-speakers may become so great that language shift—and thus assimilation—will become stalled with grave social and political consequences. They cite the example of Miami where, as then-Mayor Ferré boasted in 1983, "You can be born here in a Cuban hospital, be baptized by a Cuban priest, buy all your food from a Cuban grocer, take your insurance from a Cuban bank. You can get all the news in Spanish.... You can go through life without having to speak English at all" (quoted by Crawford, 1992, 91).

Often cited against this "another Quebec" hypothesis is the study by Calvin Veltman, who concluded that "approximately 70 percent of the youngest immigrants and 40 percent of those aged 10–14 at time of arrival will make English their usual, personal language. As a result, they will give birth to children of English, not Spanish, mother tongue" (Veltman, 1988, 45). Even in Miami, a 1985 survey of Cuban-American students at Miami-Dade Community College found that 86 percent preferred to use English with their friends (Crawford, 1992, 119). A study in Miami schools found that "only 17 percent of students who have Spanish as their native language elect to take [the course in] Spanish for Spanish-speakers" (Benderson, 1986, 10). Under the influence of electronic media and of a more open job market for Hispanics,

> the rate of language shift to English has been accelerating over the past half-century. Less than 30 percent of the oldest age group made English their usual personal language when they were young, and only 60 percent spoke it on a regular basis. Nearly all native-born teenagers now speak English on a regular basis, and five in eight already have made a language transfer to the English language group. (Veltman, 1988, 49)

On the other hand, Veltman suggested, something like the fluent bilingualism that is generally a transitional phenomenon for immigrant populations could develop in parts of the United States. "There is no reason to believe that the rates of English monolingualism will increase over time.... In fact, it is possible that English monolingualism is undergoing some slight decline" as the use of Spanish receives a measure of support in school and society (Veltman, 1988, 49). This is a regional phenomenon in areas where a large number of recent immigrants continue to make Spanish a valuable asset, even for those who have come to use English as their primary language. As a result of the economic opportunities offered by such Spanish-medium markets, "many second- and third-generation Hispanics who haven't learned any Spanish at home, whose parents and siblings may have stopped speaking it themselves, learn it from life in the immigrant-impacted neighborhoods" (Fishman, 1992, 168). In parts of Los Angeles and Miami, "monolingual monopoly seems unlikely to return. Bilingualism is becoming institutionalized, a new way of living and doing business" (Crawford, 1992, 119).

What Veltman calls the "rate of anglicization may be undergoing a slow, long-term decline in California, presumably because the large influx of immigrants makes it easier for people to retain Spanish as their principal language of use" (Veltman, 1988, 56). This continuing use of Spanish in California, however, has not slowed the rate of shift to English as the primary language for individuals of Hispanic descent; while "in most areas of the United States approximately 70 percent of the native born currently are adopting English as their usual language," the rate is 85 percent in California (Veltman, 1988, 66). In brief, the continuing role of Spanish in American life seems likely to be as a second language for occasional use by those native-born Hispanics for whom it serves as a useful bridge to recent immigrants.

A study of Mexican-origin Americans based on data drawn from the Latino National Political Survey (1989–1990) found that this pattern prevails in the

Table 1
Home Languages of Mexicans in the United States, 1989–1990

Language Reportedly Spoken At Home (%)	Only English	Mostly English	Mostly Spanish	Only Spanish
Foreign-born	2.9	6.1	26.2	52.3
Two foreign-born parents	12.3	28.9	17.1	7.0
One foreign-born parent	21.9	41.1	13.4	1.8
Two native-born parents	42.2	29.8	1.2	1.6
At least one native-born grandparent	36.3	34.0	5.6	1.5

Source: De la Garza et al., 1994, 237; respondents who reported "both" left out.

homes of those born in the United States, and increases with subsequent generations.

It is notable that this study indicates a slight up-tick in reported use of Spanish in the third generation, as would be predicted by those studies suggesting that in many immigrant groups some members of the third generation take an interest in the cultural heritage which their parents neglected in their urgency to make a success of their participation in the host society. The third generation, to paraphrase Marcus Lee Hansen (1938), wishes to remember what the second generation wishes to forget!

Aside from a nostalgic interest in linguistic as well as genealogical roots—seldom extending to the hard work of actually mastering the ancestral language—the overall trend is clear: an ever-increasing reliance upon the language of the host society as the primary means of communication even within the home, that last refuge of potential cultural distinctiveness. Even among Puerto Ricans in the continental United States, with their frequent returns to the island, "communication in English is the norm for school age sisters and brothers" (Zentella, 1988, 151); Cuban Americans "use English widely among themselves and even in their Spanish-speaking homes" (García & Otheguy, 1988, 186). Analysis of data from the national *High School and Beyond* study on Mexican-American pupils who had been in bilingual programs documented a shift to primary use of English by the second year of high school (Olson, 1990).

After reviewing some of the forces that tend toward the abandonment of immigrant languages, however, we will consider those that make such languages a continuing policy challenge and an important reality for at least some immigrants and their descendants.

Factors in the Abandonment of Immigrant Languages

The continuing significance of ethnicity into the third generation, and beyond for some, does not ordinarily translate into maintenance of the language associated with ethnic identity. The competition with the language of the host society is extremely uneven. "The two languages often represent different social networks and associated value systems, and the choice of language can come to symbolize an individual's identification with either system" (Hakuta, 1986, 233); since ethnic communities are usually a transitional phenomenon, it is not surprising that, over time, most of the second and third generations identify with the host society rather than with the sub-group, and thus come to use the language of the majority.

Despite occasional charges that immigrants are compelled to abandon their ancestral languages, there is ample evidence that most are eager to become sufficiently proficient in that of the host society so that they can function in it fully; "most groups are assimilationist in their attitudes," Edwards observes, adding that "pragmatism and the desire to make the painful act of immigration worthwhile have led inexorably to language shift" (J. Edwards, 1984, 292–293).

Consistent use in the home is of course the most important means of sustaining a language that is not used commonly in the wider society. Families can do much to maintain a minority language through making a point of using it without exception to communicate with their children. Evidence suggests that relatively few parents make this effort, unless they are themselves highly sensitive to language issues, even though they may articulate the intention of doing so. In one study, 99 percent of Korean-American parents said that they wanted their children to speak only Korean at home, but more than half of the Los Angeles sample also responded that they wanted their children to use only English at home (Kim, 1988, 268)! As this suggests, ambivalence is common and consistent practice, more the exception than the rule, even in situations as charged with feelings about language as that in Canada. In a survey of French-speakers in Ontario, "less than 50 percent responded that they mostly, or always, used French with their children. In spite of attending Francophone schools, some students of this background were not able to master standard French by grade 12" (Kalantzis, Cope & Slade, 1989, 38). That this shift occurred "in spite of parallel [i.e., French-using] institutions of church, school, recreation, etc." (Paulston, 1992, 58) illustrates how powerfully the general societal ambience influences language shift.

Research by Cummins and others in western Canada found that "francophone students who speak French at home and whose school program is 80 percent French (kindergarten through the sixth grade) still preferred to use English with friends outside the classroom...and rated themselves as being somewhat more comfortable in English than in French" (Lapkin & Cummins, 1984, 74). Anxiety about the gradual loss of French in Canada despite the language-maintenance efforts of school programs, because of the omnipresence of media and other influences encouraging use of English, is thus not unjustified, especially outside of Quebec.

Groups like the Finnish minority community in Sweden and the French-Canadians of Ontario may develop ethnic ambivalence, experienced by those who

> often feel hostile towards the majority culture because they know that members of the majority group regard them and their culture as inferior. For their children, this translates into an ambiguous message about the importance of the majority language and culture. Along with this, families in these groups tend not to encourage their children to maintain the home language nor to identify with the minority community's culture. (Teunissen, 1992, 102)

A 1973 study in Los Angeles found that, among third-generation Mexican-American women, 4 percent spoke only Spanish at home, and 84 percent only English. The transition to English among men was even more rapid (Portes & Rumbaut, 1990, 205). According to another study of language use in the Los Angeles area, the persistence of use of Spanish was largely a function of continuing replenishment of the Spanish-speaking population through legal and illegal immigration. Lopez concluded that "were it not for new arrivals from Mexico, Spanish would disappear from Los Angeles nearly as rapidly as most European immigrant languages vanished from cities in the East" (quoted by Connor, 1985, 21).

A 1979 national study of "cohorts of U.S.-born South-Central-East European ethnics" found a "plummeting level of childhood exposure to ethnic mother tongues. About three-quarters of the two older cohorts had such exposure in their childhood homes, compared to just 10 percent among persons born after 1960." A more recent study in the Albany, New York, area found that, of white ethnics born in the United States, nearly half had no knowledge at all of their ancestral language, "even in the restricted sense of occasional words and phrases in conversation" (Alba, 1990, 11). Alba found that

> about 17 percent of native-born whites reported that a non-English language was spoken in their childhood home.... But only 11 percent claim

> to speak a mother tongue now. Of those exposed to a mother tongue during childhood, just half can currently speak the language. (Alba, 1990, 93–95)

Of the total group interviewed in the Albany study, "only 5 percent said that they use a mother tongue in their daily lives." Half of this use was with their parents, and only one-quarter of the small group who use the ancestral language at all reported that they used it with their own children (Alba, 1990, 98). The data on home use of Spanish (Table 1) point in the same direction. *Children are unlikely to become fluent speakers of a language which their parents use rarely in the home.*

This is not to say that such families do not retain and transmit *other* elements of their heritage to their children, only that a minority language is unlikely to be maintained through school or supplemental programs unless it is sustained in the home and the community. After all, "the serious maintenance of traditional culture does not need bilingual programmes in schools but the material/structural basis for its reproduction" (Kalantzis, Cope & Slade, 1989, 55), and it is difficult to sustain the relevance of a minority language. Joshua Fishman observes that "the combination of relative linguistic inflexibility and relative ethnocultural flexibility finally results in the triumph of overall ethnocultural continuity experiences over ethnolinguistic discontinuity experiences" (Fishman, 1985, 340). In plainer terms, people maintain valued elements of culture from generation to generation even as they give up the use of a language that separates them more sharply than (essentially private) cultural traditions do from the mainstream of the host society. Nor is language change incompatible with an emphasis upon ethnic distinctiveness, as in the United Kingdom, where

> restaurateurs, waiters, hairdressers, etc., clearly have to learn English in order to function and communicate effectively, yet economically the Italian position is maintained by emphasizing and trading on their ethnicity. Ethnicity is encouraged at the same time as linguistic acculturation. (Taylor, 1988, 233)

It is interesting to compare the generalized survey response to the idea of language maintenance with the actual language practices of American ethnic groups. Fishman notes that the maintenance of ethnic language and culture "are both far greater at an attitudinal level than at an overt behavioral one" (Fishman, 1985, 340). Members of ethnic groups, in other words, claim to be more "ethnic" than their actions demonstrate. Lambert and Taylor's Polish-American respondents were supportive (5.77 on the 1 to 7 scale) of using Polish "for most or all speaking within the family," but in fact few did so.

Puerto Ricans were the most emphatic of the ethnic groups studied "in their endorsement of various steps that should be taken to maintain heritage *cultures* in America. They feel that their styles of foods, dress, songs and dances, as well as their own cultural values should be maintained." Curiously, though, they did not show support for the idea that such cultural elements could be maintained by community efforts; instead, they wanted the schools to do it. Puerto Rican history, they agreed, should be given equal emphasis with that of the United States (Lambert & Taylor, 1990, 91). The paradox is that it is Puerto Ricans, of all recently-arrived language-minority groups, whose culture has been most deeply influenced by that of the United States, in both its white majority and black minority forms.

Puerto Ricans on the mainland also had a contradictory response to the question of language maintenance. While on the one hand they responded that Spanish should be used in the home, and that it was the responsibility of the public school and not of the Puerto Rican community to ensure that children could speak Spanish, their responses on a question about what it would mean for their children to be bilingual or to speak only English indicated that the two options seemed equally preferable to the parents (Lambert & Taylor, 1990, 91–92).

The primary reason for the loss of an immigrant minority language is that, over time, it loses any function as all of the members of a family come to speak the language of the host society and, particularly, as the younger generation comes to prefer to use the majority language because of its association with attractive features of the life around them. Catherine Snow and Kenji Hakuta suggest that this process is not particularly mysterious: "Why do the children in such a family gravitate to English monolingualism? English, because it is the language of prestige and the majority culture; monolingualism, because for the child, as much as for the adult, maintaining two languages is harder than learning, maintaining, and using just one" (Snow & Hakuta, 1992, 388). A Moroccan family in the Netherlands will use three languages: (1) their Berber or Moroccan Arabic dialect for conversation between the parents and with their friends, to do errands in ethnic stores, and in ethnic community associations if they take part in any; (2) Dutch between the children and in school, at work, and for business with government agencies and in Dutch stores; and (3) Standard Arabic in the mosque and Koran school (Muysken & De Vries, 1982, 108; De Ruiter, 1990). There is no particular reason, given this distribution of language use, that the children would choose to use the dialect of their parents for other than simple household matters, nor would they, in time, use it with their own children.

Inevitably, the majority language will come to be associated with the glamour of modernity and the wide world outside the home, and the home language—though possessing lingering intimations of family warmth—will be associated with the disappointments and humiliations experienced by immigrant parents. A Catalan specialist on language recalls that, when he was a child,

> all movies were shown in Spanish (never in Catalan), and this created a social model so powerful that it was "impossible" to use any language but Spanish. We knew of course, even at that age, that "¡manos arriba!" ("stick 'em up!") could be rendered in Catalan as "mans enlaire!" But this knowledge was of no use. The Catalan expression had no "punch" in the situation created by the game.... my friends and I were able, from a very early age, to "play" Cowboys and Indians in Spanish without knowing any Spanish. In other words, thanks to movies about the Wild West, we were able to use a language that we did not yet know. (Artigal, 1991, 23)

Cypriot children in England "refuse to speak their mother tongue except when essential, demonstrating not only the dominance of their fluency in English, but also the value which they accord to English and by implication the values inherent in the language itself" (Taylor, 1988, 163).

Opportunities to maintain the language of the homeland may be limited, especially for the low-status immigrant with few opportunities to visit or to obtain books and periodicals from the homeland. Television and radio are likely to provide few opportunities to hear the language used in relation to a broad range of issues, and so it may come to function only in relation to domestic and religious matters and not to the other concerns of life in the new situation. Under such circumstances, "the role models of their home languages can change as parents incorporate words, structures and meanings from the mainstream language into their own" (Kalantzis, Cope & Slade, 1989, 31).

For those who are higher status and for whom the high culture of their homeland is important, language use may be maintained through deliberate efforts, though seldom at a native-like level (Ekstrand, 1979, 48), but such individuals also have more opportunity to participate actively in the host society if they adopt its language as their own. German ethnic leadership in the United States complained, in the 1930s, that the political refugees arriving from Germany "were interested in a rapid acculturation and hence tended to regard the use of the German language as a necessary evil during the transition period" (Luebke, 1978, 82). Though some 9 million residents of the United States had spoken German two decades earlier, the language was rapidly being lost as a result of lack of renewal through immigration; by the 1960s, there were at most 50 thousand persons under 18 who used the language natively (Molesky, 1988, 42–43).

In general, the religious institutions and practices of ethnic communities have more staying power than their languages. Jewish immigrants to the United States, for example, quickly abandoned use of Yiddish without thereby assimilating fully into the host society;

> secular Yiddish schools, theaters, and newspapers have all but disappeared, while, by contrast, religiously and ethnically distinct Jewish institutions, from synagogues and yeshivas to summer camps and English-language publications, continue to thrive. It turns out that of the various components of a cultural legacy, language may well be the least durable. (Friedberg, 1988, 63)

An important factor in the abandonment of immigrant languages is the growing importance of educational qualifications for desirable employment in post-industrial economies. Well-paid assembly line jobs of the sort that immigrants have typically aspired to are less and less available. In Australia, it was reported in 1994, "migrants with an English-speaking background have lower unemployment rates than other migrants (9.9 and 14.2 percent respectively)" (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 1994, 65). The same process is at work in the United States, where "during the 1980s, the penalty for speaking English poorly or not at all increased for all immigrants" (Sorensen & Enchautegui, 1994, 155).

Continuing to use an immigrant language may also indicate rejection of the host society (and implicitly of its advanced economy), while conversely rapid language shift may be a sign of eagerness to do whatever is necessary to get ahead. The 19-year-old son of Moroccan immigrants to the Netherlands who had won a prize for a field study of changes in the village in which his parents had been born told a Dutch magazine that

> from the start I was determined on integration, on doing things with the others; I had lots of Dutch friends, belonged to a football team and so forth. That way I had learned Dutch within 6 months.... I did have one year of Arabic [in a school language-maintenance program] on Wednesday afternoons, but that wasn't my own language. At home we speak Berber. (*Samenwijs* 13, 2 October 1992, 60)

Ambition may be a powerful factor in language shift. "When a distinction is made between those language minority students in Sweden who prefer to use their home language ('active') and those who prefer to use Swedish ('passive home language'), the second group shows higher results on tests in their mandatory English course than does the first group, and also higher results than monolingual Swedish students!" (Balke-Aurell & Lindblad, 1983, 86). The varying rate of acquisition of—and use of—the language of the host society by various groups in turn contributes to different social and economic outcomes, as does their acquisition of English as a third language. The children of Chinese immigrants in the Netherlands, for example, are more interested in learning English than they are in learning Chinese (Vermeulen, 1984, 112), and the same phenomenon has been noted in France, where less than 14 thousand pupils choose to study Arabic, and a similar number Portuguese, in secondary education, contrasted with 4.7 million who choose English (Henry-Lorcerie, 1989, 79).

This is not to suggest that a simple choice exists between maintenance of full proficiency in the ancestral language and acquisition of full proficiency in that of the host society. Children of immigrant parents may have few opportunities to hear their parents use extended forms of the home language, since it does not serve as a vehicle for communication with the world outside the home, or to acquire the language of the host society as native children do, through using it in natural contexts (Salameh, 1988, 45–6); this is sometimes called "semilingualism," the condition of an inadequate proficiency in both languages spoken, with consequent limitation of higher-order intellectual skills. It should be noted that, whether such a condition results from confusion between the two languages, or simply from the non-standard language use characteristic of lower class persons in general, including those who are monolingual, is much debated (Ekstrand, 1978, 64, 75, 84; Paulston, 1982, 42), and will be discussed below.

There is reason to doubt that even a segregated school program that uses primarily the home language can in fact develop full native-like proficiency in a language that is not otherwise reinforced in the surrounding society and its media. A pupil in such a program could end up with a "school knowledge" only of the first language, and insufficient proficiency in the second. While the concept of "semilingualism, with its heavy emphasis on the necessity of developing mother-tongue skills, has often been a major factor in educational and political arguments for mother-tongue classes" (Hyltenstam & Arnberg, 497), such classes may in fact result in the very condition they are intended to prevent.

Most researchers doubt that the maintenance of proficient bilingualism is achievable, even when the home language enjoys high status and is the primary means of instruction (Lofgren, 1986, 12; Ekstrand, 1988, 18). "For the conservation of minority languages," Johan Leman has written, "it is assumed that the social context outside the school, i.e., language homogeneity or heterogeneity, and social status of the minority language, will be largely determinative over the long run" (Leman, 1991, 132). Simply providing school instruction in the language, or even *through* the language, is unlikely to lead to its long-term maintenance absent social supports for its use.

A widely held view among French specialists on the immigrant experience is that the educational system has no solution to offer to the historically inevitable process of language transition. Recent efforts to revive French regional languages have had little impact, and there is no reason to believe that Arabic or Portuguese will continue to be spoken by the children and grandchildren of the immigrant generation. Like many other second-generation groups, young Portuguese in France prefer to use French in talking with their brothers and sisters, though 34 percent of them use Portuguese with their parents; Portugal is a place where they go for the summers, but only 24 percent would want to live there (Boumaza & Neves, 1994, 22). During the political conflicts that arose out of the *affaire des foulards*, the Muslim associations in Avignon resisted the demand of the most radical group, in the name of "cultural purity," that Arabic be used in lieu of French in their strategy discussions (Lapeyronnie, 1993, 332).

The likelihood is that, absent forced segregation and a brutal marginalization of an immigrant group, its original language will not be maintained effectively into the third generation, and its culture will evolve rapidly in the immigration situation, just as that culture, under the impact of modernization, is undoubtedly evolving in the homeland. Vestiges of language, and somewhat larger vestiges of cultural habit and observances, will be preserved by some but not all of the descendants of the immigrating generation. This is true even when an immigrant language becomes a "minority language" whose preservation has political resonance, unless—as with Catalan, Basque, and perhaps Welsh—the language is associated with and fortified by a territorial redoubt. Fishman concludes that "reliance on Spanish is weakening ideologically, attitudinally, and overtly at only a somewhat slower rate than have mother tongues among other ethnolinguistic minorities in the United States" (Fishman, 1985, 341).

Factors in the Maintenance of Immigrant Languages

Language as a means of communication and of acquiring information may have a simply functional significance, as when we listen to tapes or take a course at Berlitz in preparation for a trip to another country. The "national" language alone would be needed and maintained if this were the only purpose of language use. But language can also have an evocative, an emotional, and even a powerfully symbolic meaning in many situations. This reality is acknowledged in the terms used by different educational systems for the languages which the children of immigrants may speak when they come to school: *Muttersprache* ("mother language") in Germany, *eigen taal* ("own language") in the Netherlands, *hemspråk* ("home speech") in Sweden, or *langue d'origine* ("language of origin") in France.

Fishman points out that

> [b]y its very nature language is the quintessential symbol.... All language stands in this very relation to the rest of reality: it refers to, it expresses, it evokes "something" in addition to itself.... Language is the recorder of paternity, the expresser of patrimony and the carrier of phenomenology. Any vehicle carrying such precious freight must come to be viewed as equally precious, as part of the freight, indeed, as precious in and of itself. The link between language and ethnicity is thus one of sanctity-by-association.... Anything can become symbolic of ethnicity (whether food, dress, shelter, land tenure, artifacts, work, patterns of worship), but since language is the prime symbol system to begin with and since it is commonly relied upon so heavily (even if not exclusively) to enact, celebrate and "call forth" all ethnic activity, the likelihood that it will be recognized and singled out as symbolic of ethnicity is great indeed. This likelihood is both increased and exploited when ethnicity is manipulated into ethnic consciousness since language is crucial for relaying the good word, the message, the call, and, as such—even without any linguistic features that make it unintelligible to others—it easily becomes "more than" a means of communication, even more than symbolic of the ethnic message; indeed, it becomes a prime ethnic value in and of itself. (Fishman, 1989, 32)

As a result of these associations, language has far more than merely communicative significance; it may have a symbolic function which leads parents to wish it to be taught to their children by others precisely *because* they themselves are incapable of developing it adequately in those children themselves. The clearest example of this is the language revival movements in provinces of several nations where an ancestral language has come to serve as a symbol of independence *vis à vis* the larger society and its centralizing and homogenizing tendencies, such as Catalonia and Wales. In such cases, a minority language can become a symbol of the resistance of the periphery to the center, a symbol all the more precious because it has few practical consequences or economic advantages.

Under circumstances of sufficient residential concentration and business enterprise, an immigrant community can also create a world in which many of its members do not find it necessary to use the majority language for their daily activities. In post-war London it was noted that the use of Greek and Turkish were perpetuated "because of the close knit Cypriot community which makes it unnecessary to use English in daily life since it is now possible to shop in Cypriot stores.... even in the mid-1970s Constantinides (1977) noted that second-generation Greek Cypriot adults often spoke to each other in a mixture of colloquial English and Cypriot Greek liberally sprinkled with Hellenized terms invented by first-generation Cypriots to describe aspects of the dressmaking and restaurant trades" (Taylor, 1988, 68). "Little Havana" in Miami is a similar case, where shoppers and professionals have continued to use Spanish as their primary means of communication for several decades. Six years after arrival in 1973, 45 percent of Cubans surveyed still had no knowledge of English and only 9 percent were fluent, but they had made substantial economic progress: one-fifth owned businesses and two-fifths owned their own homes. "Living and working in Spanish, many Cubans felt little urgency about learning English—much like the Germans, Norwegians, Greeks, and other groups before them, who for a time had succeeded in building insular communities" (Crawford, 1992, 95).

Development, by the immigrant generation itself, of proficiency in the language of the host society may depend in large part upon whether they work outside the home, and whether the work performed requires the use of language and provides constant opportunity for practice; thus a waiter in an Italian or a Chinese restaurant is likely to become more proficient in the societal language than is the cook. The concentration of immigrant workers in Germany in the heavy manufacturing and construction industries has undoubtedly retarded their linguistic integration, and thus indirectly their eligibility for German citizenship. The failure of many of the first generation to become proficient in the host language may have less to do with unwillingness than it does with the nature of the work opportunities available to them. Paulston points out that Mexican Indians did not learn Spanish until jobs became available for which the language was necessary; "without access to rewards, Spanish was not and is not salient" (Paulston, 1992, 20). Spokesmen for language-minority groups argue that "populations acquire new languages if and when they are admitted to new social roles requiring these languages rather than vice versa" (Fishman, 1989, 441). Of course, it can be difficult to be "admitted to new social roles" if those roles require proficiency in a language which one does not speak.

An immigrant minority language can also be maintained to some extent by the deliberate efforts of an ethnic community that values its continued use. In New York City in the 1960s,

> people active in politics and the leaders of the Puerto Rican community expect that Spanish will be the major language in use in the community for as long ahead as anyone can see. As against the situation in some earlier immigrant groups, where dominant opinion in the city and in the group insisted on the need to learn English and relegate the immigrant tongue to a minority position, in the Puerto Rican group many leaders...expect and hope that Spanish will maintain a strong position in the group.... Spanish already has a much stronger official position in New York than either Italian or Yiddish ever had. (Glazer & Moynihan, 1963, 101)

This was attributed by some observers, not only to the back-and-forth movement between Puerto Rico and the mainland, but to a determination to continue the use of Spanish. "[T]he newer immigrants (their leaders, at least) are pressing for bilingualism clearly not for pragmatic reasons...but for reasons of the values they hold" (Glazer, 1983, 152). Similarly, in the western states, "as middle-income Mexicans reach even higher income levels they begin to look for, create, and support part-time or full-time schools to develop and retain Spanish among their children.... The favored income position [in California and New Mexico] was for bilinguals having English as the dominant and Spanish the subordinate language" (Macias, 1985, 302). Consistent with American studies suggesting that a strong interest in ethnic language may be more a characteristic of those who have been successful in "making it" in the host society than of those who are still struggling for a foothold (Alba, 1990, 73), French research found that highly educated, young Portuguese women placed a high value on maintaining the Portuguese language as a token of their identity, though in fact they usually spoke French, even with their Portuguese contemporaries at the university (Villanova, 1986).

> Acculturation signifies the ability to master the dominant cultural codes and is not necessarily synonymous with the dissolution of the heritage culture or with the loss of the specificities of the immigrant *milieu*.... To the contrary, success and acculturation, in facilitating mastery of the social environment, permit immigrants to maintain a living connection with their origins. (Dubet & Lapeyronnie, 1992, 91–92)

On the other hand, research in Quebec found that francophone university students "who were least fluent in English were those who felt their cultural identity to be most threatened" (Lambert & Taylor, 1990, 19).

Progressive intellectuals are of course not unique in having material and ideal interests in the separate schooling of linguistic minority pupils. For many rank-and-file immigrants, especially those who experience discrimination and low-status employment, the language and culture of their homeland can come to enjoy increased significance as a means of retaining a sense of personal worth, even as the homeland itself recedes in time. The Spanish language is an important marker of identity for many Hispanic immigrants and their children, continuing to be significant even after connection with or even interest in their homeland has been lost. A study in the mid-1960s found that, "when asked to choose from a list of attributes those aspects of the Mexican heritage they would like to preserve in their children, only 5 percent of the respondents in Los Angeles and only 3 percent in San Antonio selected 'identity as Mexican'...[but]...51 percent in Los Angeles and 32 percent in San Antonio selected 'Spanish language'" (cited by Connor, 1985, 19).

It seems likely that the relatively strong maintenance of Spanish in the United States has a political as well as the sociological basis of continued new immigration and heavy concentration in certain areas. For Mexican Americans or Puerto Ricans who (encouraged by government and advocacy groups) have come to see themselves as members of an "Hispanic" minority group with claims upon the wider society based upon a history of victimization parallel to that of African Americans, the Spanish language is the primary basis for group identity. After all, culturally, and even racially, there are significant differences among Americans of Latin-American origin; what they have in common is a language, whether they actually speak it or not. But this common language functions as a symbol of group membership only to the extent that it is possible to believe that Puerto Ricans and Mexican Americans and Dominicans have also somehow been victimized in the same way by North American society as a function of their *hispanidad*. As Max Weber pointed out, even

> [c]ommunity of language...taken by itself is not sufficient to constitute a communal relationship. It is only with the emergence of a consciousness of difference from third persons who speak a different language that the fact that two persons speak the same language, and in that respect share a common situation, can lead them to a feeling of community and to modes of social organization consciously based on the sharing of the common language. (Weber, 1964, 138–139)

In a typical expression of such a political agenda for language maintenance, a left-of-center Greek Cypriot newspaper in London wrote, in 1959, that "the struggle for the Greek education of our community is one of a national nature, a struggle for the protection of our children against the danger of their anglicization that the conqueror of our suffering island so much desires" (Taylor, 1988, 79). Similarly, the leaders of the Polish workers in the Ruhr (where they made up about a third of the labor force) around the turn of the century urged them to keep themselves apart in order to maintain the solidarity of the group, insisting that—though legally citizens of the German Reich—"no true Pole allows his children to become German" (Hansen, 1986, 47).

Of course, as in the case of those Polish children, identification with a minority tradition can be promoted in a way that prevents some who have not made that choice for themselves from participating freely in the broader society. In fact regulations were issued in 1899 by German authorities, making proficiency in German a prerequisite for all senior jobs (Esser & Korte, 1985, 167). Despite the impact upon such opportunities, ethnic leaders may go so far as to advise members of language minority groups not to learn the majority language, lest group bilingualism lead, over time, to loss of the minority language (Gaarder, cited by Paulston, 1992, 89), and the heavy-handed attempt to suppress the minority language may lead, as it did among the Poles in the Ruhr, to an increased sense of ethnic solidarity (Koekebakker, 1990, 45).

Lack of successful participation in the host society can, in turn, lead to a social position that does not encourage using the language required by such participation, in a vicious circle of marginalization and self-limitation. Under such circumstances, "the real and perceived barriers to socioeconomic attainment operate to discourage socioeconomic achievement, to reinforce the distinctiveness of the ethnic group, and to reaffirm and revitalize ethnic patterns and customs" (Bean & others, 1994, 77). This is one possible explanation for the lagging achievement in education and income of third-generation Mexican Americans in the United States, but it does not seem to be supported by the data on home language use (Table 1). Another possible explanation is that many native-born Mexican Americans have come to think of themselves as what Ogbu calls "involuntary minorities," on the analogy of African Americans, rather than as immigrants. Skerry suggests that "contemporary political institutions encourage many Mexican Americans to 'assimilate' precisely by defining themselves as an oppressed racial minority" (Skerry, 1993, 265). This sets up a very different psychological dynamic than that characteristic of immigrants.

> Involuntary minorities do not, unlike the immigrants, interpret the language and cultural differences they encounter in school and society as barriers they have to overcome. Rather, they interpret these differences as *symbols of identity to be maintained*.... The oppositional identity combines with the oppositional cultural frame of reference to make crossing cultural boundaries and engaging in cross-cultural learning more problematic for involuntary minorities than for the immigrants, since utilizing the cultural frame of reference of the dominant group is threatening

> to the minority identity and security as well as to their solidarity. (Ogbu, 1991, 15–16)

Bastenier, reversing Robert Merton's concept of "anticipatory socialization," describes a "preventative non-socialization" on the part of immigrants placed in an inferior social position and seeking "to preserve their initial socio-cultural capital (their original identity) that they intend eventually to use again" (Bastenier, 1986, 85).

Representations of the claims of Mexican Americans (and Puerto Ricans) in the political arena have been primarily on the basis of "a presumed moral trump: the group's claim as a victimized racial minority," and by professional advocates funded largely by foundation grants. The result may be a certain passivity on the part of members of the group (Skerry, 1993, 376). The logic of a rights-based strategy for social advancement is that neither personal effort nor grass-roots political mobilization is necessary; the claims are advanced instead by lawyers and publicists.

It is entirely consistent with such an attitude that the overwhelming majority of spokesmen for Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in the United States are strong supporters of bilingual education as a means of maintaining the use of Spanish, described as a fundamental right, and yet few native-born members of those groups use the language consistently in their homes, which is the only way that any minority language is in fact maintained. To the extent that Spanish continues in active use, it tends to be in dialectical forms such as *caló*, "the jargon of young male Chicanos, which changes rapidly and consists of lexical innovations (some of which reflect English influences) in the preexistent Spanish linguistic mold." It is reported that children who attempt to speak the standard Spanish they are taught in school may be mocked by their peers, thus limiting their motivation to acquire real proficiency (McLaughlin, 1985, 187).

Consistent use of a minority language helps to maintain group boundaries, and therefore can be one of the means by which a group may assert and maintain its distinctiveness in relation to other groups. In extreme cases, it may serve to identify the enemy; the Gileadites at the fords of the Jordan river knew whom to kill by the Ephraimite inability to pronounce "*shibboleth*" (*Judges* 12:6).

> National languages are protected by national boundaries. Where minority cultures are strong enough to protect their cultural boundaries (and, of course, interested in doing so), they produce the same defenses for their ethnocultural mother tongues. They separate populations into in-

> siders and outsiders and they define the cultural desiderata—including language—which are required for inside membership. Under such circumstances, even small minorities can attain intergenerational mother tongue continuity (viz. Old Order Amish); lacking them, even large ones cannot (viz. Spanish-Americans, German-Americans, Polish-Americans, Franco-Americans, etc.). (Fishman, 1985, 225)

This judgment of history has not prevented some ethnic activists from seeking to draw a boundary around their group and to maintain its cohesion by promoting the use of its distinctive language. The imposing challenge that such efforts face is to persuade individuals that participation in the group is more valuable than access to the opportunities offered by the wider society.

Under such circumstances, *individual bilingualism* can come to seem the enemy of group maintenance, since it is correctly perceived as a transitional phase leading over time to primary use of the language of the wider society and, in the following generation, to complete loss of the minority language. "Group bilingualism is frequently accompanied by language shift to the official language when there are ample, material rewards in so doing" (Paulston, 1992, 58). The same shift can occur even when the culturally subordinate language is "official," simply because the dominant language may seem more useful or attractive; this is why francophone language activists in Quebec are *not*, as one might expect, supporters of bilingualism, nor do the Dutch-speaking and French-speaking communities of Belgium encourage real bilingualism in the two primary languages of the nation.

> If circumstances are such that the majority language could dominate, and ultimately lead to language shift, then it is through the individual bilingualism of members of the minority that this threat will materialize. In circumstances where such a shift could happen, it is likely that it is in the *personal* interests of the individual to be bilingual, and this is where a tension begins to appear between group and individual. The group's need is to maintain a monolingual ethnic identity.... From the minority group viewpoint, however, the majority language threatens to take over functions additional to the economic ones and gradually eradicate the minority language. (Byram, 1991, 15–16)

The offer of public schools to give the children of immigrants the key to a wider society may seem to some parents and, perhaps even more, to ethnic activists as a poisoned apple. Nor has this function of popular schooling been less than explicit over the two hundred years of its active promotion by governments, as when John Dewey, in *Democracy and Education*, described "the office of the school environment" as the obligation "to see to it that each individual gets an opportunity to escape from the limitations of the social group in which he was born, and to come into living contact with a broader environment" (see Glenn, 1988, for an historical account of this mission of popular schooling and resistance to it in France, the Netherlands, and the United States).

It would not be accurate to portray this as a conflict between group interests and individual interests, of course, since it is usually in the interest of individuals to belong to groups that function well, and it is certainly in the interest of groups that the individuals who belong to them prosper. There is, however, an unavoidable tension of interests around the question of the extent to which schooling will seek to present universal values and thus relativize and diminish those of particular groups, as there is around that of developing proficiency in the language of the wider society at the possible cost of losing use of the full range of an ethnic minority language. Sometimes the good intentions of those who seek to support ethnic distinctiveness may have effects which are as negative for members of minority groups as those achieved by the bad intentions of their oppressors.

Under normal circumstances, language is too diffuse a characteristic to make for group solidarity. When such solidarity exists for other reasons, the majority language may be used to express the identity and values of a minority ethnic group which has largely or entirely abandoned the use of its distinctive language. After all,

> no matter how all-embracing language is experienced to be as the vehicle or as the symbol of the total ethnocultural package ..., it is really only a part, and a detachable part at that, rather than the whole of that package. This is all the more so when, as in the case of the American ethnic revival, language ideologies and language movements *per se* are almost entirely lacking. (Fishman, 1989, 674)

Group maintenance (if that is desired) is thus by no means dependent upon continued use of the heritage language. Genesee cites Canadian research by Adiv that found that "native French-speaking Jewish Canadian children saw themselves as more similar to other Canadians who were Jewish but English-speaking than to French-speaking [non-Jewish] Canadians" (Genesee, 1987, 102). Lambert and Taylor found that Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, though sharing the use of Spanish, felt no closer to each other than did either to other groups of Americans (Lambert & Taylor, 1988).

Similarly, "being an Italian-American has little to do with the Italian language or with most features of Italian culture. Rather, it has to do with a sense of continuity with the past, of group loyalty, and of a similarity of emotional experience within the home which makes the individual look for self-assertion in the form of ethnic group belonging" (De Vos, 1982, 32). After all, "identity can proceed without language, as in ethnic music or customs, also in political and social organizations" (Brock and Tulasiewicz, 1985, 8). Connor suggests, indeed, that "language is far more important to group formation than to group maintenance": an ethnic group is one whose ancestors spoke the same language (Connor, 1985, 258).

A sustainable generalization, then, is that "language is…not inevitably associated or linked with culture nor relevant in every situation. Certain minorities may perceive their language to be a crucial characteristic of their culture and identity, and essential to knowledge and belief of their religion. In others it is not an essential attribute of ethnic or religious identity or group membership" (Saifullah Khan, 1980, 84). Or, as Paulston puts it drily in a study commissioned by the Swedish government, "contrary to popular belief, even among Swedish researchers, ethnicity is rarely sufficient for language maintenance, nor is language maintenance necessary for culture or ethnicity maintenance" (Paulston, 1982, 36).

Privileged Spheres of Minority Language Use

It is not the length of time that groups are in contact that determines whether the minority will adopt the language of the majority as the ordinary means of communication within the group, so much as the intentions of the minority and whether they possess established institutions through which they sustain their existence as a distinct group and which employ the minority language in a consistent way. Even under such conditions "communicative language shift may occur while leaving behind a symbolic value of importance" (Edwards, 1988, 205).

A group may maintain its distinctive culture and language while living in contact with those of a host society, but only through the most heroic measures of renunciation of many of the benefits that the majority society offers. "In the absence of a rather rigid and fargoing compartmentalization which is difficult to maintain (and, therefore, rare) in modern interactive life…such as is available, e.g., to Amish, Hasidic or traditional Islamic families (or other communities sheltered by distance, rurality or major philosophical-religious-ideological ramparts), what begins as the language of social and economic mobility ends, within three generations or so, as the language of the crib as well, even in democratic and pluralism-permitting contexts" (Fishman, 1988, 206).

Mart-Jan de Jong points out the futility of language and cultural maintenance programs which do not enjoy such support:

> Learning the official national language of the country of origin will not do much to contribute to the maintenance of the old values and norms. Neither can a knowledge of the geography of the country of origin or fragments of its history be expected to preserve its culture. When groups seek to preserve their own culture there is only one way available: to maintain an intensive group life and minimize contact with natives and with other foreigners.... An important factor is a strongly orthodox religious life. (Jong, 1987, 42)

After all, "stable societal bilingualism (diglossia) depends on institutionally protected functional sociolinguistic compartmentalization, so no ethnocultural collectivity can maintain two cultures on a stable basis past three generations if they are implemented in the same social functions (family, friendship, work, education, religion, etc.)" (Fishman, 1988, 193). In other words, most people maintain active use of a language only to the extent that they are essentially *monolingual* in that language in at least one essential dimension of their lives.

There are many examples, in the nations under review, of immigrant groups that maintain the use of their original language for various "private" functions such as family life and religious practice, but none in which the minority language is used as the primary vehicle of effective political participation, as in Catalonia or (to some degree) in Wales. Paulston recalls how she began research on the use of Catalan in Spain as a study in ethnic boundary maintenance, only to come to realize that it was an issue of Catalan nationalism with a territorial base and clear political claims, not one of ethnicity (Paulston, 1992, 133).

As Fishman has advised those concerned with the preservation of "endangered languages," "they must be intimately tied to a thousand intimate or small-scale network processes, processes too gratifying and rewarding to surrender even if they do not quite amount to the pursuit of the higher reaches of power and modernity" (Fishman, 1988, 399).

THE POLICY DEBATES OVER MINORITY LANGUAGES

Elsewhere, we considered briefly the principle expressed in the American Constitution, that distinctive understandings of the world should be allowed free exercise in the public sphere, but not established by government sponsorship. Attempts have sometimes been made to assert a body of "language rights" parallel to the rights to free speech and free exercise of religion. It has been argued, for example, that

> separate religions can be self-sustaining and self-fulfilling if government does not favor one over another. For whatever reason, the [American] government presently favors one language, English, over all others and provides that language with massive support through public education and other means. Without even limited support for other languages, language rights cannot be protected.... Language rights, unlike religious rights, cannot be effectively protected by being left alone in an underdeveloped and culturally backward state while only one language is promoted vigorously. (Landry, 1983, 374–375)

Such arguments are historically and sociologically naive; the American government uses English because that is the language that the great majority of the American people have spoken at all stages of the nation's history. Publicly funded schools mostly use English for the same reason. Despite occasional flurries of linguistic xenophobia, public policy toward languages is far more pragmatic than it is ideological.

> From the days of the Pilgrim fathers American leaders have ideologized morality, opportunity, progress, and freedom. Ethnicity has been considered irrelevant.... The English language does not figure prominently in the scheme of values, loyalties, and traditions by which Americans define themselves as "American."...More linguistic and cultural treasures were buried and eroded due to mutual permissiveness and apathy than would ever have been the case had repression and opposition been attempted. (Fishman, 1970, 85)

There *is* an ideological case to be made for support for minority languages, but it has more to do with the idea of group rights—an idea which has little support in American constitutional law—than it does with individual freedoms. The closest analogy would be, not accommodation (*never* support) of religious organizations, but affirmative action for the benefit of those considered to have some group-based claim upon preferential treatment. Race, physical handicap and sex are (in most cases) immutable characteristics, of course, while most people are capable of changing the language that they use, so it has been necessary to add the premise that minority language is indissolubly linked (even for those capable of speaking the majority language) with an irreplaceable identity and worth.

The emphasis upon language as the primary marker of group identity is closely associated with the rise of the ideology of nationalism in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Until the rise of nationalism as a mobilizing idea, indeed, "language was very rarely stressed as a fact upon which the prestige and power of a group depended." Thus, for example, "the Breton estates, which were very jealous of their independence [within France], nevertheless spoke French, and in the Act of Union for the Defense of the Liberties of Brittany of 1719 the Breton spokesmen did not mention language grievances" (Kohn, 1967, 7).

The idea that language is a distinctive and irreplaceable element of group identity was given definitive form by Johann Herder, who asserted in a school address published in 1764 that "every language has its definite national character, and therefore nature obliges us to learn only our native tongue, which is the most appropriate to our character, and which is most commensurate with our way of thought." The spirit and character of a people was, according to Herder, indissolubly linked with its own language, with obvious implications for the contemporary practice of providing schooling to German-speaking youth in Latin and in French.

> If language is the organ of our soul-forces, the medium of our innermost education, then we cannot be educated otherwise than in the language of our people and our country; a so-called French education in Germany must by necessity deform and misguide German minds. (quoted by Kohn, 1967, 433)

A further implication was that the idea then prevalent, in educated circles, that a universal culture could gradually, through popular enlightenment and universal schooling, be spread to wider and wider circles of the population, was fundamentally misguided. Schooling would have to be distinctively national, for "no individual, no country, no people, no history of a people, no state is like any other. Therefore the true, the beautiful, and the good are not the same for them" (quoted by Kohn, 1967, 433). This led Herder to oppose the efforts, by Habsburg ruler Joseph II, to unify the administration of his multi-national empire through the universal use of German for all educational and official purposes, "at a time when the Bohemians, Rumanians [sic], Croatians, and others had hardly any consciousness themselves of their nationality" (Kohn, 1967, 432). Herder asked, in 1783,

> Has a nationality anything dearer than the speech of its fathers? In its speech resides its whole thought domain, its tradition, history, religion and basis of life, all its heart and soul. To deprive a people of its speech is to deprive it of its one eternal good.... With language is created the heart of a people. (quoted by Fishman, 1989, 105)

Though usually expressed in less exalted language, this belief in an almost mystical identification between a nation and its language has persisted. One of the most influential French thinkers of the mid-19th century, Ernest Renan, insisted that language, much more than "blood" (or, as we would say, genetic inheritance), created the great divisions of humanity; "the spirit of each people and its language are very closely connected: the spirit creates the language and the language in turn serves as formula and limit for the spirit." Or, as he said on another occasion, "a Musulman who knows French will never be a dangerous Musulman" since "fanaticism is impossible in French" (quoted by Todorov, 1993, 143, 146). Here we see an early expression of the French insistence upon the necessity—and the possibility—of transforming culturally alien persons through assimilation by French culture and language.

If language is inseparable from culture, to this way of thinking, so cultures are so fundamentally different as to be incommensurable. We can see one of the roots of the ideology of multiculturalism in the conviction expressed a hundred years ago by Gustave Le Bon, that "different races cannot feel, think, or act in the same manner, and...in consequence, they cannot comprehend one another" (quoted by Todorov, 1993, 55). For many present-day advocates of measures to preserve the use of minority languages, "the assumption is that language is the necessary support for a specific cultural identity" (Byram, 1990, 127), and that ethnic identity is an essential treasure to be handed on to successive generations through continued use of the heritage language. Its loss—even if the loss is voluntary on the part of individuals who do not choose to use the language of their parents—is a tragedy and evidence of oppression:

> To me monolingualism, both individual and societal, is not so much a linguistic phenomenon (even if it has to do with language). It is rather a question of a psychological state, backed up by political power. Monolingualism is a psychological island. It is an ideological cramp. It is an illness, a disease which should be eradicated as soon as possible, because it is dangerous for world peace. It is a reflection of *linguicism*. (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988, 13)

But, of course, a belief in the necessary connection between a language and membership in a national community can lead to intolerance of other languages within the national sphere. To the extent that a common language functions as an expression of a common nationality, the status of minority languages is always liable to be called into question. Conflict over language policy (such as over the "Official English" movement in the United States) does not reflect xenophobia so much as it does conflicting ideas about what it means to be a full member of the society. Is societal membership appropriately mediated through associations and communities to which a primary loyalty may be felt and which may communicate among themselves in a language incomprehensible to the wider society, or are such mediating structures inimical to national unity and the rights of individuals?

Ethnic groups and their institutions, some argue, are an important aspect of the civil society; they are mediating structures that may reduce the *anomie* attendant upon modernization and a mass society and perform an important function in the relation between individuals and the nation as a whole. To the extent that such groups depend upon the maintenance across generations of a distinctive language, compulsory schooling can be either a fundamental threat or a valuable support to their continuing existence, depending upon the policy that the school adopts toward the use of that language.

> Prolonged participation in the British education system is thought by parents to cause a loss of "Greek identity" as individual children conform to the values and behaviors of their school peers. Participation in the Greek-language schools is quite specifically designed to counteract some of the effects of State schooling. (Constantinides 1977, quoted by Taylor, 1988, 145)

There is a fundamental human right, by this logic, to preserve a language and cultural heritage; "the smallest and most insignificant language groups or individuals, like the largest and most powerful, have a right to exist and prosper regardless of any calculation of profit and loss" (Lewis, 1978, 680). But, of course, such statements, by equating groups with individuals, avoid the question of whether the former, like the latter, enjoy fundamental human rights. Although such rights have been recognized repeatedly in international law, it is not so easy to specify what this recognition entails; for example, the *International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights*, adopted by the United Nations in December 1966, provides in Article 27 that

> In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language. (Storimans, 1993, 31)

The influence of modern compulsory schooling is so profound, some argue, that this right can only be guaranteed through alternative forms of schooling for ethnic and language minority groups, comparable to the alternative religiously-based schools which most nations allow and even support. The *Convention Against Discrimination in Education*, adopted by UNESCO in December 1960, asserts such a right but hedges it about severely in Article 5:

> It is essential to recognize the right of members of national minorities [note that this does not include *immigrant* minorities] to carry on their own educational activities, including the maintenance of schools and, depending on the educational policy of each State, the use or the teaching of their own language, provided however:
>
> (i) That this right is not exercised in a manner which prevents the members of these minorities from understanding the culture and language of the community as a whole and from participating in its activities, or which prejudices national sovereignty;
>
> (ii) That the standard of education is not lower than the general standard laid down or approved by the competent authorities; and
>
> (iii) That attendance at such schools is optional. (OIDEL, nd, 28)

It should be noted that the logic of this statement is quite distinct from that of an earlier (1953) UNESCO position, growing out of a conference held in 1951, which stated that "we take it as axiomatic...that the best medium for teaching is the mother tongue of the child" (quoted in Baral, 1983, 6). The 1953 statement was focused upon what the assembled experts believed was in the best interests of the early schooling of children, especially those in developing nations still ruled by colonial powers, whereas the 1960 statement is concerned to assert the group rights of national minorities.

The *Final Helsinki Accord*, adopted in June 1990 by all the European nations except Albania and by the United States and Canada, stated a right to ethnic schools but without suggesting any obligation on the part of government to fund such schools or even to recognize them as equivalent to its own schools.

> To belong to a national minority is a matter of a person's individual choice and no disadvantage may arise from the exercise of such choice. Persons belonging to national minorities have the right freely to express, preserve and develop their ethnic, cultural, linguistic or religious identity and to maintain and develop their culture in all its aspects, free of any attempts at assimilation against their will. In particular, they have the right...to establish and maintain their own educational, cultural and religious institutions. (Storimans, 1993, 37)

Several international agreements have taken another tack, asserting a right to a measure of minority language maintenance within the context of regular schooling. The Council of Europe adopted a resolution in 1969 that urged countries hosting labor migrants to keep open the possibility of return through "mother tongue teaching corresponding with the curricular requirements of the countries of origin" (Wittek, 1992, 3). Even as the prospect of return to the homeland has faded, a series of resolutions and pilot programs of the European Community have called for "intercultural education" with an emphasis on optional mother tongue instruction. Similarly, the chapter on migrant workers of the *Final Helsinki Accord* committed the states signing it "to ensure that the children of migrant workers established in the host country have access to the education usually given there, under the same conditions as the children of the country and, furthermore, to permit them to receive supplementary education in their own language, national culture, history and geography" (Storimans, 1993, 40). Similarly, the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (Strasbourg, November 1992) provides, in Article 8, Section 1:

> With regard to education, the Parties undertake, within the territory in which such languages are used, according to the situation of each of these languages, *and without prejudice to the teaching of the official language(s) of the State:...*
>
> > (i) to make available primary education in the relevant regional or minority languages; or
> >
> > (ii) to make available a substantial part of primary education in the relevant regional or minority languages; or
> >
> > (iii) to provide, within primary education, for the teaching of the relevant regional or minority languages as an integral part of the curriculum; or
> >
> > (iv) to apply one of the measures provided for under i to iii above at least to those pupils whose families so request and whose number is considered sufficient.... (Storimans, 1993, 39, emphasis added)

This argument has been applied to linguistic minority children in Denmark in these terms:

> the child must have the possibility of using his or her resources actively in interaction with children from the same culture, with adults from the same culture, and in surroundings that, in their symbolism and imagery, mirror their culture. (Horst, 1988, 22)

According to this interpretation of "minority rights," ethnic groups "have the same democratic right to cultural reproduction as do the majority population" (Clausen & Horst, 1987, 102).

As we have seen, immigrant languages are not usually sustained (other than in marginal ways) into the second and third generations by immigrant communities themselves. This has led to demands by language advocates that public education systems take on the task, through supplemental programs, of teaching these languages to children who have not learned them from their parents, and those of most nations under review have made some efforts in that direction.

Lambert and Taylor have studied the attitude of several ethnic groups in the American Mid-West toward the role of public schools in maintaining the heritage language of their children. One of the questions they asked was whether that language should be used "for part of the teaching and learning in public schools." Another question was whether children should "learn to read and write our own language not through school, but through church-run or community-run classes." On a scale from 1 ("definitely disagree") to 7 ("definitely agree"), the two least-assimilated groups, Arab-Americans and Albanian-Americans, were strongly supportive of both forms of language maintenance. Mexican-Americans and Polish-Americans were also positive about programs to maintain their languages, but rather less so. Perhaps the most interesting finding was that Puerto Ricans were among the most insistent on language-maintenance efforts in schools, but much the least supportive of community-based efforts to maintain their language outside of school.

In answer to the argument that every group is free to continue to use any language they wish privately, without involving the government or publicly supported education, Swedish advocates for home language classes insist that the prospects of developing and maintaining full competence in a minority language are unfavorable. There are few opportunities to receive stimulation or positive support for use of the home language.

> Sweden is far from being a bilingual country—it is a mono-lingual country with many small minority languages. The limited opportunity for active or passive language stimulation applies even to the minority that is in a class by itself, the Finns. The few hours of broadcast time for Finns in Finnish on radio and TV, Finnish sections in some large daily newspapers and instruction in Finnish in home language classes (for a certain part of school attendance for pupils in densely Finnish areas) are naturally not comparable to the circumstances of Finns in Finland. Moreover the use of Finnish in Sweden is limited...to the private sphere such as relations with family and friends. Much more limited are the opportunities for other language groups, especially those which are very small, to use their languages. This places a heavy burden upon the schools to compensate as far as is possible for the limits imposed by the milieu on language learning through comprehensive and well-planned instruction *in* and *through* the pupil's first language. (Tingbjorn, 1988, 87)

Table 2
Support for Maintenance of Ancestral Language

Ethnic Group	Support Language Maintenance Outside School	Support Language Maintenance in School
Mexican-American	5.43	5.55
Puerto Rican	3.05	6.63
Polish-American	5.23	4.52
Arab-American	6.69	6.74
Albanian-American	6.72	6.21

Source: from Lambert & Taylor, 1990, 77, 100
(1 = "definitely disagree"; 7 = "definitely agree")

Whether schools make such efforts or not, only individuals, in the final analysis, can continue to use a language or not do so, as they choose. A government official pointed out to the author a nuance in the wording of the Swedish national curriculum adopted in 1980, which stated that

> the purpose of instruction in home languages is for the pupils to develop their language so that it will provide them with a means of growing into individuals with a strong sense of identity and a clear opinion of themselves, their group identity and their living situation. Home language instruction must help the pupils to retain contact with their family and their language group. This will enhance the prospects of their linguistic development. Instruction must lay the foundations of the pupils' development of active bilingualism. (National Swedish Board of Education, 1980)

This curriculum, and thus the Swedish educational system, did not claim to *develop* an active bilingualism but simply to lay the foundations for one which the individual might or might not choose to build upon (interview with Bertil Jacobsson, 2/6/89). For Finnish educational activist Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, on the other hand, "it should be the task of the school to give the migrant children as good a command of the mother tongue as they would get in a school in their native land" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1979, 5).

"Proclamations concerning bilingual education," according to Richard Rodriguez, "are weighted at bottom with Hispanic political grievances and, too, with middle-class romanticism" (Rodriguez, 1992, 352). Even though it is the ethnic group whose interests are most closely associated with maintenance of a minority language, there may be individual interests to do so as well, quite distinct from any calculation of profit. Dismissal of romantic yearnings for an ancestral language fails to do justice to the purpose that can be served by ethnic identity, however vestigial, in defining oneself in contrast with a majority culture that seems stifling or insufficiently respectful. No harm is done, surely, when individuals choose to emphasize some aspect of their ancestral heritage for reasons that seem good to them.

Whether public funding should support private decisions to maintain an ancestral language (or, indeed, to learn another language of choice) is a question more of curriculum planning than of fundamental educational policy. Publicly supported schools commonly offer optional enrichment activities, especially at the secondary level, and it may be that classes to maintain ancestral languages should be thought of in this context. The supplemental home language classes provided on a voluntary basis to the children of immigrants by most of the countries included in this study might be considered an appropriate enrichment apart from considerations of success in the academic mainstream.

As an American critic of bilingual education has pointed out, "there are several reasons...for teaching children in their home language instead of the language of the majority community, such as promoting language loyalty, community closeness, political hegemony, and control by ethnic leaders. However, such reasons exist quite apart from reasons of equal educational opportunity or effective second-language learning or social integration" (Porter, 1990, 63).

The case for public support for the maintenance of minority languages is commonly made, however, in the name, not of individual rights, but of the rights of groups, and by analogy with the much-litigated rights of African Americans to be accorded some remedies by American society because of the disabilities under which they, because of their involuntary group membership, previously suffered. For African Americans, it was the color of their skin and not any individual merits or demerits that determined their treatment under the laws of a number of American states. Whether even in this instance there is such a thing as a "group right" is much debated, notably in the legal cases and political controversies over affirmative action.

It is true that the federal courts, since the *Soria v. Oxnard* (488 F2d 579) and *Keyes* (413 U.S. 189, 203) cases in 1973, have extended to Hispanics the standard of strict scrutiny for group-based discrimination and eligibility for certain kinds of group-based remedies. The ruling in *Soria* found that Hispanics and blacks "suffer identical discrimination in treatment compared with the treatment afforded Anglo students." In no case, however, has the right to a remedy of past discrimination been extended to a right to public support in maintaining the group's identity or language. Indeed, Shirley Hufstedler, the federal judge who was on the winning side of the *Lau* decision of the Supreme Court, when later serving as Secretary of Education, insisted that "the Lau regulations [issued by her agency] are *not* designed to maintain any language or subculture in the United States" (quoted by Ruíz, 1988, 9).

National minorities in several European countries—Frisians in the Netherlands, Germans in Belgium—are often entitled to support in their distinctiveness, though more commonly through political than legal decisions, and on a territorial basis. The latter, for example, have a right to instruction of their children through German so long as they live in the small section of Belgium where that right is established, but no such right if they move to Charleroi (where French would be the language of instruction) or Antwerp (where it would be Dutch).

English-speakers in Quebec and French-speakers in Ontario have rights anchored in the Act of Union of 1840 and the British North America Act of 1867, by which Canada was established, and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms of 1972 extended the right to instruction through these two languages to all parts of Canada—but it has not been ratified by Quebec, which continues to assert a territorial basis for language use which does not acknowledge an individual right of language choice.

The only language minority groups in the United States with the right to be treated as members of a group rather than as individuals are members of Indian peoples that made treaties with the national government in the course of the westward expansion of its control; this is the basis for the greater organizational autonomy and distinctiveness that is at least possible for Indian education under tribal jurisdiction compared with the education provided to the children of immigrants.

In general, however, and despite the international covenants and statements of principle, only individual and not group rights are recognized by the Western democracies, and the assertion of a right to public support in the maintenance of a non-territorial group—particularly one constituted on an ethnic basis—is an invitation to political debate. Some countries (the United Kingdom, the Netherlands) are inclined to look favorably upon such demands because of their traditions of institutional pluralism; others (France in particular) find them repugnant. American policy-makers, with characteristic equivocation, provide separate schooling through minority languages on a massive scale, but do so in the name of "transition" to the educational mainstream and not of any recognition of group rights.

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FOLLOW-UP STUDY ON THE BETHLEHEM, PA, SCHOOL DISTRICT'S ENGLISH ACQUISITION PROGRAM

Ann Goldberg

INTRODUCTION

The children who are the subject of this evaluation are a vital element in our classrooms. Just as they struggle to learn a new language, we strive to find more effective ways to support their learning. Along the way, we can celebrate differences, see the world through new eyes, and prepare for the twenty-first century.

In the fall of 1995, *READ Perspectives* published "The Bethlehem, PA, School District's English Acquisition Program: A Blueprint for Change" by Simons, Connelly, and Goldberg. The Bethlehem Area School District Superintendent of Schools, Thomas J. Doluisio, requested that an Internal Program Evaluation be conducted based on data from the first three years of the English Acquisition Program; the present article provides the results of this evaluation.

The evaluation team followed the process outlined in the Bethlehem Area School District's *Internal Program Evaluation* manual. Dr. Nelson, Director of Elementary Education; Mrs. Kostem, Assistant Superintendent; and the Director of Secondary Education recommended the members of the Internal Evaluation Team. Key committee members were chosen from schools with high numbers of limited-English proficient students. Members of the Internal Evaluation Team were as follows: the coordinator of the program, three curriculum supervisors from three middle schools, four elementary school principals, one assistant high school principal, one elementary school ESOL teacher, one middle school ESOL teacher, two high school ESOL teachers, one elementary school classroom teacher, one high school English teacher, and one bilingual elementary school reading specialist. The Internal Evaluation Team met from January 1996 to August 1996 to conduct the evaluation process.

OVERVIEW OF THE ENGLISH ACQUISITION PROGRAM

The following overview is provided in the 1995 *READ Perspectives* article, but

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is summarized briefly here for the reader's information. For almost twenty years the Bethlehem schools had provided bilingual education (instruction in Spanish and in English) for its limited-English proficient students, but by 1992 Superintendent Doluisio came to the conclusion that all language minority students need to gain English fluency as quickly as possible if they are to receive the highest quality education. After extensive discussion with staff, and presentations to the Board of School Directors, the superintendent convinced the Board to vote to change the bilingual program to a program of English language instruction. The goal of the Bethlehem Area School District's new English Acquisition Program, as was stated by the Board of School Directors at its meeting on February 1, 1993, was to have all limited-English proficient (LEP) students become fluent in English in the shortest amount of time so that they might achieve maximum success in school. A team of thirty educators, led by Michele Kostem, Assistant Superintendent, designed the new program of English Acquisition during the spring of 1993. The program differs somewhat at each level: elementary school, middle school, and high school. A brief description of the program at each level follows.

English Acquisition at the Elementary School Level
The philosophy of the elementary school program is

- To provide an academic setting that accelerates the acquisition of English;
- To integrate LEP students into all classes;
- To increase all students' oral language proficiency;
- To coordinate the child's educational program to reduce fragmentation; and
- To provide native language support for concept clarification when possible.

Each student is monitored twice a year as he or she moves through the stages of oral proficiency, reading and writing in English.

High impact schools (Donegan, Freemansburg, and Marvine, with 40 percent to 50 percent or more LEP students) have reduced class size ratios of approximately 20 to 1. Moderate impact schools (Clearview, Fountain Hill, and Lincoln, with 12 percent to 30 percent LEP students) have class sizes reduced when large numbers of LEP students are served at a particular grade level. English as a Second Language is provided to students at the beginner level at the high and moderate impact schools for 75 minutes daily. Intermediate and advanced students are given 45-minute sessions of ESL three or more times a week. All students are enrolled in their neighborhood elementary schools.

At low impact schools (Asa Packer, Buchanan, Calypso, Farmersville, Governor Wolf, Hanover, Miller Heights, Spring Garden, Thomas Jefferson, and William Penn, with 0 percent to 6 percent LEP students), itinerant English-as-a-Second-Language teachers schedule two to four sessions a week for small groups of students. Additional support may be provided by paid tutors, at a maximum of five hours per week per student, at the school's request. These paid tutors, called "Second Language Guides," must pass a proficiency test using literature materials from the curriculum. Second Language Guides may also be used in moderate and high impact schools, particularly if the student's home language is other than Spanish.

English Acquisition at the Middle School Level

The cornerstone of the middle school level, grades 6–8, is the teaming concept of the middle school philosophy. New English Acquisition students at the beginner level of English proficiency are assigned to Broughal Middle School. This beginner group is part of an academic learning team that provides extensive interaction between the ESOL teachers and the teachers who deliver content area instruction. The beginner level middle school student receives two ESOL periods daily, language arts and reading, with both the ESOL teacher and the teacher of language arts and reading delivering the instruction. The other subjects are taught to the beginner classes by content area teachers with the support of a bilingual aide. All beginner students are assigned "buddies" and attend physical education, industrial arts, home economics, other related arts courses, lunch, homeroom, and activity periods with their English-speaking peers. Selected beginner students who complete most of fifth grade in their home elementary schools and who demonstrate strong growth in language proficiency attend their home middle school.

Intermediate level students all attend their neighborhood middle schools. The program consists of two periods of ESOL daily (taught by bilingual teachers in Spanish and English) and regular instruction in mathematics, science, and social studies with native English speakers. These students are assigned "buddies," if needed, who serve as partners and helpers during homeroom, activity periods, related arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. Advanced level students, also served in their home schools, receive only one period of ESOL daily and receive instruction in the regular academic program of language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. All middle school students in the English Acquisition Program have access to an ESOL tutorial support program, offered as an option at the end of the day, from 3:00 to 3:45 PM. The ESOL teacher is required to staff this after-school center to provide peer tutoring, homework club, and after-school activities. Students who have been in the English Acquisition Program may take advantage of this period as they move through the stages of beginner, intermediate, and advanced, and even after they exit from the program. This after-school program is seen as an opportunity for students to receive individual help and to discuss concerns.

English Acquisition at the High School Level

The high school program has been an English language instructional program for many years. Since fall 1993, the program has used two models: (1) English Acquisition Program (EAP), designed for students who need a program to provide marketable skills from business and vocational-technical classes; (2) Transitional Educational Program (TEP), designed for English Acquisition students who are typical learners. TEP enables students to participate in mainstream classes 30–40 percent the first year, 55 percent in the second year, 75–80 percent in the third, and to exit the program in the fourth year.

PROGRAM OF STUDIES

EAP I—Grades 9–10

2pds.	Composition/Reading Development
2pds.	Oral Language Development
1pd.	Keyboarding (2nd semester)
1pd.	EAP 1 Math
1pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
1pd.	Physical Education/Elective

EAP 2—Grades 9–11

1pd.	EAP 2 English Language Development
1pd.	EAP 2 Life Science
1pd.	EAP US History
1pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
3pds.	Grade 10–11—Vo-tech/Business classes (for 9th grade: Career Awareness; 9th grade: Reading)
1pd.	Physical Education/Elective/Keyboarding

EAP 3—Grades 10–12

1pd.	EAP 3 English Language Development
1pd.	EAP 3 Science
1pd.	EAP World Geography
1pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
3pds.	Vo-Tech/Business classes
	All other classes in the regular program

EAP 4—Grades 10–12

1 pd.	English Language Development
1 pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
3 pds.	Vo-Tech/Business classes
	All other classes in the regular program

TEP 1—Grades 9–10

2 pds.	Composition/Reading Development
2 pds.	Oral Language Development
1 pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
1 pd.	Keyboarding (First Semester)
1 pd.	Mathematics (EAP 1 Math or from transcript)
1 pd.	Physical Education/Elective

TEP 2—Grades 9–11

3 pds.	English Language Development
1 pd.	TEP 2 Science Concepts
1 pd.	TEP 2 Social Studies Concepts
1 pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
	All other classes in the regular program

TEP 3—Grades 9–12

1 pd.	Transitional English-supports English 9B
1 pd.	English 9B
1 pd.	TEP Content Area Reading (Science and Government texts)
1 pd.	Regular class -Government/Economics
1 pd.	Regular class -Introduction to Chemistry and Physics
1 pd.	English Acquisition Resource Room
	All other classes in the regular program

How Do We Determine *Exit* from the English Acquisition Program?
Exit is decided by a team from each school, organized by the building principal. *Exit* is based on the student's ability to achieve in the regular program. On the Stages Form, the level of competence required for exit is shown for the elementary, middle, and high school levels. The ESOL teacher and the student's classroom teacher provide the necessary documentation for determining the oral language level and reading and writing levels: for oral language, the classroom teacher and ESOL teacher ascertain the level as described in the "Stages" description; for reading, the teacher provides a photocopy of a passage which the student is required to read and retell successfully; a photocopy of the student's written performance, taken from actual classroom work,

is added to the student's portfolio. The stages of oral language, reading and writing are circled on the form provided and all members of the team sign the Change in Program Form. A member of the team is designated to inform parents of the change. Copies of the form and the documentation are sent to the Center for Language Assessment (CLA) for review by the coordinator of the Program.

How Are Kindergarten Students Served?

Kindergarten students are not served by the ESOL teacher; they receive a language-rich curriculum based on thematic units. In April, during kindergarten registration for the following school year, students who speak a language other than English are tested by trained CLA testers using the PreLAS test in English and in Spanish, if appropriate.

Follow-up is done in May during the kindergarten year, when each kindergartner is retested to determine his/her levels of oral language proficiency and the need for additional help in first grade. More than 90 percent of the students demonstrate growth, often from a PreLAS score of 0 to a score of 50–70. Although a score below 72 still places the student as a "beginner," the student has made substantial gains in both receptive and expressive language.

A major benefit of the English Acquisition Program is greater integration of students from varied backgrounds, resulting in friendships that begin in kindergarten and continue through graduation.

Procedures for Testing Students in the Center for Language Assessment

Under provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, all students (or parents of students) are given the Home Language Survey. Students who have a second language or who speak a language other than English at home are referred for testing before entering the Bethlehem Area School District.

Testing is conducted at the Center for Language Assessment with the following instruments:

- Language Assessment Scales—Oral (LAS-O) measures the oral proficiency of students from the end of first grade through twelfth grade in either English or Spanish;
- The PreLAS measures the oral language proficiency of preschool, kindergarten, and students beginning first grade;
- The Brigance Reading Test measures oral reading, word recognition, and reading comprehension;

- A writing sample is taken in English and in the native language, if possible; and
- A mathematics competency test is given to secondary school students.

Based on test results, a recommendation is made for placement either into the regular program or at one of the following levels of English proficiency: beginner, intermediate, or advanced. Copies of testing and summary information are sent to the student's school for review by the principal and teachers.

Proficiency Levels and Program Stages

The ESOL teacher and the classroom teacher rate each student's progress in stages of oral language, reading, and writing in November and June. Progress in classroom performance, as described in the English Acquisition Stages Form, is what signals a move to a higher proficiency level. The usual requirement is that a student perform at the higher level in at least two of the three areas described above.

Staffing for the English Acquisition Program

The Center for Language Assessment is a district office located at Marvine Elementary School. The Center is responsible for testing of all new limited-English proficient students; tracking student progress through school reports of each English Acquisition student every November and June; monitoring of exit procedures conducted by the schools; coordinating a summer program for beginner level students; coordinating efforts with principals and central office administrators; and providing support, supplementary materials, and inservice for ESOL teachers. The Center is staffed by the coordinator for the K–12 English Acquisition program, a full-time secretary, and a full-time tester.

The English Acquisition staff for all schools is described below:

High- and moderate-impact elementary schools:

Donegan	5 teachers	4.0 full-time equivalent staff
Freemansburg	2 teachers	2.0
Marvine	3 teachers	2.7
Fountain Hill	2 teachers	1.5
Lincoln	1 teacher	1.0
Clearview	1 teacher	0.5

Ten low-impact elementary schools:

Itinerant staff	3 teachers	2.0

Middle schools:

Broughal	4 teachers	3.0

Northeast	2 teachers	1.5
Nitschmann	1 teacher	0.7
East Hills	1 teacher	1.0
High school:		
Liberty	5 teachers	5.0
Total teaching staff:	30	24.9 full-time equivalents

KEY CONCERNS AND RELATED GENERAL QUESTIONS

Is the English Acquisition Program producing English language fluency in the shortest amount of time so that students have the best opportunity for success in school? How can this new program be improved? In order to answer these questions, the Internal Evaluation Team prepared a list of specific questions to be used as performance indicators:

1. How many students were enrolled in the program in November 1993, by school and level (beginner, intermediate, advanced)?
2. How many students were enrolled in the program in June 1996, by school and level (beginner, intermediate, advanced)?
3. How many students successfully exited the English Acquisition Program?
4. How many students who qualify for the English Acquisition Program have enrolled since July 1993?
5. How many English Acquisition students have left the district since September 1993?
6. Of the original cohort (1993/94 enrollment), how many students have moved from beginning to intermediate? What percentage of beginners exited within three years?
7. Of the original cohort (1993/94 enrollment), how many students have moved from intermediate to advanced? What percentage of intermediate level students exited within three years?
8. Of the original cohort (1993/94 enrollment), how many students have moved from advanced to exit within three years?
9. What is the average length of time it takes a student to move from beginner to intermediate, intermediate to advanced, and advanced to exit the program? Are there differences in the average length of time among elementary school students, middle school students, and high school students?
10. What is the average amount of gain seen in the original cohort (1993/

94 enrollment) in stages of oral language, reading, and writing over three years?

11. Are there extreme cases, both of those who exit very quickly and of those who move very slowly through the levels?
12. What is the report card cumulative average for exited students now in high school, given by grade level and school?
13. What is the report card average for exited students now in middle school, given by school and grade level?
14. What are the average reading and mathematics percentile scores of advanced students and exited students, by grade level, on the Metropolitan Achievement Tests?
15. What is the response of parents to the English Acquisition Program?
16. What is the response of staff to the program?
17. What is the response of students to the program?
18. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the elementary school program?
19. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the middle school program?
20. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the high school program?

Performance Indicators

1. This study includes average percentile scores, by grade level, from the standardized test data of the Metropolitan Achievement Tests (MAT7). Reading and Mathematics Scores were obtained for grades 1–8 and grade 10. Language subtest scores were obtained for grades 6–8. Norms for percentiles were obtained from the Metropolitan Achievement Test Manual: Low (1–22nd percentile), Middle (23rd–76th percentile), and High (77th–99th percentile).

2. Levels of the English Acquisition Program are determined by the students' classroom performance in oral language, reading, and writing. Students are placed at the beginner, intermediate, or advanced level. Each level includes a range of stages. For example, a beginner level student may be described at stage 1, 2, or 3 in oral language proficiency.

Each November and June, ESOL teachers send individual reports describing the program level and stages of oral language, reading, and writing for each student enrolled in the English Acquisition Program. The data are entered into the data base using the Filemaker Pro 3.0 program.

3. Survey results from the parent survey, the teacher survey, and the elementary school and secondary school English Acquisition student surveys were performance indicators used to answer specific measurable questions.

4. Grade point averages are computed based on the following: A = 4.0, B = 3.0, C = 2.0, D = 1.0, and F = 0.0.

DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

Surveys were collected and results were tabulated by teacher and administrative teams. Summary data for all surveys were entered in spreadsheets for review by the team. Student performance data on progress from beginner, intermediate, and advanced levels through exit were collected through the Center for Language Assessment data base.

To assess the impact of the current program without distorting the data by including data from students who participated in the former program, the committee decided to examine the progress of those students who enrolled in the Bethlehem schools between February 1, 1993, and October 1, 1993. These students spent either no time or less than one semester in the former bilingual program. Of these 240 students, 59 (25 percent) withdrew from the school system before June 1996. The remaining 181 students were in the English Acquisition Program for three years. This group is described as "the original cohort" within the remainder of this document.

Average percentile Metropolitan Achievement Test scores and secondary level students' grade point averages were entered into spreadsheets.

Subcommittees at the elementary school, middle school, and high school level met separately during the summer to review the data and discuss strengths and weaknesses at each level. The full Internal Evaluation Team met again in late August, 1996, to review the draft version of the Internal Evaluation Report. The document was reviewed by the Superintendent and Cabinet and by administrators at all three levels. Their suggestions, revisions, and concerns were addressed in this final version.

SPECIFIC MEASURABLE QUESTIONS

1. How many students were enrolled in the program in November 1993, by school and level (beginner, intermediate, advanced)?

The results can be found in Table 1.

2. How many students were enrolled in the program in June 1996, by school and level (beginner, intermediate, advanced)? Table 2 provides this breakdown.

The distribution of students in the English Acquisition Program has changed from November 1993 to June 1996. In the elementary schools, large numbers of beginner students are enrolled each year in kindergarten. The total number of beginners, grades K–5, has been reduced from 436 (in 1993) to 334 (in

Table 1
Students Enrolled in Program, November 1993

	Beginner	Intermediate	Advanced	Exited
Elementary				
Asa Packer	3	3	5	0
Buchanan	3	4	4	0
Calypso	12	0	0	0
Clearview	17	12	22	0
Donegan	195	56	32	8
Farmersville	0	1	0	0
Fountain Hill	12	26	10	6
Freemansburg	74	20	35	4
Governor Wolf	4	4	2	1
Hanover	1	0	0	0
Lincoln	13	27	16	0
Marvine	84	31	32	7
Miller Heights	3	1	0	0
Spring Garden	4	2	2	1
Th. Jefferson	3	1	7	0
William Penn	8	6	1	0
Subtotal	436	194	168	27
Middle School				
Broughal	81	54	37	3
East Hills	0	6	11	0
Nitschmann	1	17	5	0
Northeast	5	30	17	0
Subtotal	87	107	70	3
High School				
Liberty	34	50	20	0
Total	557	351	258	30

June, 1996); the number of intermediate level students has grown from 194 to 270; the number of advanced level students changed from 168 to 176; and the number of students who achieved English language literacy and exited the program grew from 27 to 163.

In the secondary schools, the distribution of English Acquisition students has shifted from November 1993, when large numbers of students were placed at the beginner and intermediate levels, to June 1996, when large

Table 2
Students Enrolled in Program, June 1996

	Beginner	Intermediate	Advanced	Exited
Elementary				
Asa Packer	6	6	5	4
Buchanan	3	0	3	2
Calypso	2	3	3	2
Clearview	14	12	5	14
Donegan	87	62	41	40
Farmersville	2	2	0	2
Fountain Hill	49	42	27	24
Freemansburg	51	49	32	27
Governor Wolf	1	7	5	1
Hanover	0	0	0	0
Lincoln	26	33	15	8
Marvine	81	43	24	24
Miller Heights	0	0	0	0
Spring Garden	5	4	2	5
Th. Jefferson	5	5	4	3
William Penn	2	2	10	7
Subtotal	334	270	176	163
Middle School				
Broughal	51	24	41	39
East Hills	2	15	15	15
Nitschmann	1	1	4	24
Northeast	4	35	40	22
Subtotal	58	75	100	100
High School				
Liberty	28	29	46	58
Total	420	374	322	321

numbers of students had progressed to placement at the advanced and exited levels.

Several hundred newcomers in grades 1 through 12 and approximately 150 kindergarten students eligible for the English Acquisition Program enroll in the Bethlehem Area School District each year, most of these at the beginner level. The total enrollment of students served by the program (excluding special education and exited students) at the beginner, intermediate and advanced levels equaled 1,166 in November 1993 and 1,116 in June 1966.

3. How many students successfully exited the English Acquisition Program?

Three hundred eighty-one students successfully exited the program. Sixty of these exited students left the Bethlehem Area School district.

4. How many students who qualify for the English Acquisition Program have enrolled since July 1993?

Since July 1993, 1,149 students registered at the Center for Language Assessment and qualified for the English Acquisition Program.

5. How many English Acquisition students have left the district since September 1993?

Six hundred forty-eight students who were enrolled in the English Acquisition Program left the Bethlehem Area School District since September 1993.

Evaluation of Progress of Students Who Entered in 1993 at the Beginning of the English Acquisition Program

The majority of students in the original cohort come from homes with limited resources. Eighty-three percent of the students in this group are eligible for free or reduced lunch. When comparing rates of progress of the Bethlehem original cohort with other school district students, the socioeconomic levels of the populations must be considered.

6. Of the original cohort (181 students as described above), how many students have moved from beginning to intermediate? What percentage of beginners exited within three years?

By June 1996, the 130 students who were originally classified as beginners when first served in the English Acquisition Program were distributed through the levels as follows: 12 students exited the program (9 percent); 32 students moved to the advanced level (25 percent); 59 students moved to the intermediate level (45 percent); 3 students were placed in special education (2 percent); and 24 students remained at the beginner level (18 percent). Of this last group, 18 were originally assessed at the very lowest levels of oral language, reading and writing. Three years later, these students had made significant progress in these areas but were still at the beginner level because they had yet to master all the necessary foundation skills.

7. Of the original cohort (the 181 students who entered for the 1993/94 year and were served for three years), how many students have moved from intermediate to advanced? What percentage of intermediate level students exited within three years?

By June 1996 the 34 students who were classified at the intermediate level when first served in the English Acquisition Program were distributed throughout the levels as follows: 15 students exited the program within three years (44 percent); 13 students moved from the intermediate to the advanced level (38 percent); and 6 students remained at the intermediate level (18 percent).

8. Of the original cohort (the 181 students who entered in 1993 and remained for three years), how many students have moved from advanced to exit within three years?

By June 1996 the 17 students who were originally classified at the advanced level when first served in the English Acquisition Program were distributed throughout the levels as follows: 16 students had exited the program (94 percent) and 1 student remained at the advanced level (6 percent).

9. What is the average length of time it takes a student to move from beginner to intermediate, intermediate to advanced, and advanced to exit the program?

Because success in the regular classroom is the goal of the program, students need to master English reading, writing, and speaking skills to exit.

The Internal Evaluation Committee agrees that a *typical* student who enters with *low* levels in oral proficiency, reading, and writing may need approximately two years at the beginner level, one to two years at the intermediate level, and one year at the advanced level.

A brief case study may serve to illustrate typical student growth. Jesennia was evaluated initially before kindergarten entrance in April 1993 and, under the guidelines of the old program, would have been placed into a Spanish-speaking kindergarten. After a year in the English-speaking kindergarten (May 1994), the tester wrote that Jesennia could now understand simple directions, identify simple nouns, and distinguish correct adjectives. Her expressive skills were still quite limited. At the end of first grade (May 1995), her ESOL teacher moved her to the intermediate level and wrote that Jesennia understood a story read in English. She could read simple words and was able to retell what she read. At the end of second grade, (May 1996), the ESOL teacher moved her to the advanced level and observed, "She has excellent recall of details. Jesennia can read fluently and very quickly. She did a super job on the testing."

10. What is the average amount of gain seen in the original cohort (1993/94 students) in stages of oral language, reading, and writing over three years?

Oral Language Proficiency: A typical student moves from being able to understand little or no English to being able to understand adult speech and to carry on a basic conversation, although he or she may need repetition, may sometimes grope for words, and may have difficulty with verb tenses.

Reading: A newcomer student is typically unable to read in English. After three years, the typical student reads and understands the main ideas appropriate to his or her placement level, but may need ESOL support to understand more advanced vocabulary and/or concepts.

Writing: A newcomer student can only write his or her name in English. After three years, the typical student can write a concrete description, show a sequential relationship between sentences, and use spellings that are readable. He or she can use present and past tense correctly in common verbs.

11. Are there extreme cases, both of those who exit very quickly and of those who move very slowly through the levels?

There *are* small numbers of extreme cases. In the answers to Questions 6, 7, and 8, we see evidence of students who moved rapidly through the program. Teachers report that students who move very quickly through the program are those who are persistent in seeking out answers to their questions, who consistently do quality work, who strive for high grades, and who are competitive and self-motivated.

We also see evidence of some students who have remained at the same level for three years. Although their numbers are very small, they are cause for concern. Teachers report that students who move very slowly through the levels may have poor attendance, may have changed schools frequently, may have difficulty with basic literacy and math skills, and/or may have experienced severe problems at home. School administrators have reviewed these cases to determine what steps are needed to promote further growth. There is a constant search for better methods to assist the "hard to teach" student.

12. What is the report card cumulative average for exited students now in high school, given by grade level and school? These scores represent average

scores, by grade level, of all students who exited the English Acquisition Program.

Many of these students were enrolled originally in the former bilingual program. Exited students from the "original cohort" and all other exited students' scores were included.

At Liberty High School, the cumulative average for exited students in 9th grade was 1.692; in 10th grade, 1.87; in 11th grade, 2.429; and in 12th grade, 2.592. At Freedom High School, the cumulative average for exited students in 9th grade was 1.865 and in 10th grade, 1.826.

13. What is the report card average for exited students now in middle school, given by school and grade level?

These scores represent average scores, by grade level, of all students who exited the English Acquisition Program.

Many of these students were enrolled originally in the former bilingual program. Exited students from the "original cohort" and all other exited students' scores were included.

At Broughal Middle School, the cumulative averages were as follows: 2.12 (6th grade), 2.346 (7th grade), and 2.252 (8th grade). At East Hills Middle School, the cumulative averages were as follows: 2.76 (6th grade), 1.836 (7th grade), and 1.514 (8th grade). At Nitschmann Middle School, the cumulative averages were as follows: 2.2 (6th grade), 2.02 (7th grade), and 2.09 (8th grade). At Northeast Middle School, the cumulative averages were as follows: 2.433 (6th grade), 1.924 (7th grade), and 2.226 (8th grade).

14. What are the average reading percentile scores of advanced students and exited students, by grade level, on the Metropolitan Achievement Tests (MAT7)? and

What are the average mathematics percentile scores of advanced and exited ESOL students, by grade level, as measured by the Metropolitan Achievement Tests (MAT7)?

Students in grades one and two were enrolled in the English Acquisition Program and did not participate in the former bilingual program. Students in grade three were enrolled in the English Acquisition Program and may have been enrolled in the former bilingual program in Kindergarten. Students in grades four through ten were enrolled for one to three years in the English Acquisition Program; many of these students were enrolled originally in the former bilingual program. Average scores appear in Tables 3a and 3b.

15. What is the response of parents to the English Acquisition Program?

Described below is the survey given to parents in April of 1996, including questions and responses:

Is your child's schoolwork appropriate for his or her grade level?

Yes, it is appropriate	88%
No, it is too difficult	5%
No, it is too easy	6%

How does your child feel about school in the Bethlehem Area School District?

Highly positive	34%
Positive	47%
Mixed feelings	15%
Negative	1%
Highly negative	1%

Check reasons for visits made to school (check all that apply):

Attend school program	20%
Conference re: report card	55%
Conference re: school work	31%
Parent meeting	18%
Volunteer work	7%
Discussion of child's behavioral problems	25%
Discussion of EAP	12%

How much time do you spend helping with homework?

Less than a half hour	27%
More than a half hour	54%
Not able to due to language	31%
Not able to help/not familiar with subject	11%
Not able to due to illness	4%
Not able due to other reasons	5%

How do you get information on the English Acquisition Program (check all that apply)?

Cntr for Language Assessment	14%
BELL (CLA newsletter)	39%
Child's teacher	30%

Table 3a
MAT7 Percentile Average Scores: Elementary Schools

	Total Reading	Vocabulary	Reading Comp.	Word Recognition	# Tested	Total Math	Problem Solving	Procedures	# Tested
Grade One									
advanced	34	35	39	32	17	17	22	17	17
exited	35	47	14	59	2	35	39	35	2
Grade Two									
advanced	40	27	44	44	21	41	38	47	21
exited	65	65	60	78	11	69	76	65	11
Grade Three									
advanced	31	23	37		24	34	35	39	24
exited	43	33	50		15	50	49	53	15
Grade Four									
advanced	51	43	55		51	78	77	78	51
exited	39	35	42		33	53	46	53	33
Grade Five									
advanced	34	31	37		72	39	40	40	72
exited	40	33	44		34	46	49	44	34

Table 3b
Secondary School MAT7 Average Percentile Scores for Exited and Advanced Level Students in the English Acquisition Program

	Total Reading	Vocabulary	Reading Comp.	Total Language	# Tested	Editing	Prewriting	Composing	Total Math	Problem Solving	Procedures
Grade Six											
advanced	12	12	14	21	22	23	19	27	13	9	21
exited	32	32	34	43	35	42	48	46	25	24	26
Grade Seven											
advanced	12	10	18	16	31	16	20	25	17	12	19
exited	13	11	17	19	20	22	22	19	20		19
Grade Eight											
advanced	8	7	10	18	19	25	15	22	15	16	13
exited	8	9	10	14	16	18	14	19	13	12	13
Grade Ten											
advanced	5	3	9	11	18	14	14	12	12		
exited	8	8	10	14	12	19	14	17	15		

School newsletters	36%
Other	7%
Not informed	17%

In what areas has your child improved?

Spoken language	73%
Written language	63%
Reading independently	54%
Social interaction	41%
Study skills	46%
Other	4%

What contributed to your child's success in school?

Reading stories	54%
Lessons from ESOL teacher	63%
Taking books home to read	59%
Instruction from teachers who encourage speaking English	65%
Other	10%

16. What is the response of staff to the program?

Described below is the survey administered to all teachers in the Bethlehem Area School District in April 1996, including questions and responses (368 teachers responded):

The BASD English Acquisition Program is doing a good job preparing English Acquisition students for success in school:

	All teachers	Elementary school teachers	Middle school teachers	High school teachers
Strongly agree	7%	9%	6%	4%
Agree	43%	49%	37%	30%
Neither	24%	17%	31%	37%
Disagree	11%	12%	11%	7%
Strongly disagree	2%	2%	3%	0%

Check the strategies used in your elementary school to support students learning English:

Pullout ESOL	87%
Adapting curriculum	77%
Computer utilization	59%

Reteaching	56%
Reading/writing workshops	56%
Adapting assessment	55%
Adapting materials	50%
Team planning	49%
Flexible grouping	48%
Preteaching	44%
Curriculum integration	41%
Push-in ESOL	41%
Collaborative teaching	40%
Paid tutor	28%
After-school tutor	13%
Other	12%
Separate curriculum	6%

In your elementary school classroom, what types of assessment do you use when evaluating English Acquisition students?

Observations	83%
Writing samples	74%
Homework completion	67%
Criterion tests	60%
Running records	50%
Portfolios	46%
Adapted from book tests	45%
Project based	36%
Curriculum based	33%
Student questions	26%
Responsibility banks	8%
Other	8%

In what areas do the elementary school teachers in your classroom have training? need training?

Area	*Have training*	*Need training*
Curriculum adaptation	70%	28%
Materials adaptation	57%	29%
Curriculum integration	42%	20%
Flexible grouping	40%	18%
Cooperative learning	40%	10%
Reading workshop	31%	26%
Writing workshop	30%	7%
Portfolio assessment	29%	29%
Curriculum-based assessment	25%	24%

Authentic performance assessment	23%	24%
Collaborative teaching	21%	21%
Total physical response	20%	24%
Multiple intelligences	20%	19%
Diversity training	18%	22%
Student generated material	18%	20%
Student tutoring	10%	15%
Others	6%	2%

Indicate the effectiveness of the English Acquisition support program in all academic areas with a positive or no effect rating:

	Elementary school teachers:		**Middle school teachers:**	
Area	*Positive*	*No effect*	*Positive*	*No effect*
reading	77%	6%	41%	7%
spelling	60%	15%	35%	10%
science	30%	33%	23%	10%
life skills	37%	21%	23%	8%
writing	65%	8%	39%	6%
mathematics	29%	34%	22%	12%
social studies	31%	34%	28%	10%

To meet the needs of English Acquisition students in your middle school classroom, what training do you have? what training do you need?

Area	*Have training*	*Need training*
Cooperative learning	42%	8%
Flexible grouping	23%	11%
Curriculum adaptation	23%	20%
Portfolio assessment	22%	14%
Student tutoring	21%	8%
Materials adaptation	21%	20%
Curriculum integration	18%	15%
Diversity training	17%	18%
Writing workshop	16%	11%
Student generated material	15%	15%
Multiple intelligences	13%	18%
Collaborative teaching	13%	15%
Reading workshop	12%	15%
Total physical response	9%	17%
CBA	9%	15%

Authentic performance assessment	6%	15%
Others	4%	1%

Which strategies are used in your middle school to support students learning English?

Pullout ESOL	52%
After-school tutor	50%
Adapting curriculum	47%
Team planning	44%
Reteaching	39%
Adapting assessment	37%
Curriculum integration	35%
Adapted materials	35%
Computer utilization	32%
Flexible grouping	30%
Push-in ESOL	30%
Collaborative teaching	25%
Separate curriculum	20%
Preteaching	18%
Reading/writing workshops	13%
Paid tutor	11%
Other	2%

In your middle school classroom, what types of assessment do you use when evaluating English Acquisition students?

Observations	66%
Homework completion	59%
Criterion tests	54%
Project based	52%
Writing samples	49%
Student questions	28%
CBA	26%
Portfolios	25%
Adapted from book tests	25%
Responsibility banks	21%
Running records	16%
Other	13%

Which strategies are used in Liberty High School to support students learning English?

Pullout ESOL	19%
After-school tutor	44%

Adapting curriculum	11%
Team planning	26%
Reteaching	15%
Adapting assessment	7%
Curriculum integration	19%
Adapting materials	15%
Computer utilization	37%
Flexible grouping	30%
Push-in ESOL	11%
Collaborative teaching	22%
Separate curriculum	4%
Preteaching	7%
Reading/writing workshops	11%
Paid tutor	15%
Other	0%

In your Liberty High School classroom, what types of assessment do you use when evaluating English Acquisition students?

Observations	37%
Homework completion	63%
Criterion tests	63%
Project based	44%
Writing samples	33%
Student questions	19%
CBA	19%
Portfolios	19%
Adapted from book tests	11%
Responsibility banks	15%
Running records	22%
Other	4%

To meet the needs of English Acquisition students in your Liberty High School classroom, what training do you have? what training do you need?

Area	*Have training*	*Need training*
Cooperative learning	30%	7%
Flexible grouping	30%	7%
Curriculum adaptation	11%	19%
Portfolio assessment	19%	7%
Student tutoring	19%	0%
Materials adaptation	15%	19%
Curriculum integration	11%	11%
Diversity training	11%	7%

Writing workshop	7%	11%
Student generated material	19%	0%
Multiple intelligences	4%	11%
Collaborative teaching	15%	11%
Reading workshop	7%	11%
Total physical response	7%	7%
CBA	7%	7%
Authentic performance assessment	7%	4%

English language (ESOL) teachers were asked to comment on the following statement: The BASD English Acquisition Program is doing a good job preparing English Acquisition students for success in school.

Response	*Elementary*	*Middle*	*High*
Strongly agree	1	1	2
Agree	7	3	1
Neither	2	0	0
Disagree	0	0	0
Strongly disagree	0	0	0

Which strategies do you use when teaching ESOL students?

Strategy	*Elementary*	*Middle*	*High*
Literature	10	5	3
Graphic organizers	9	5	2
ESOL through content	8	5	2
Preteaching of concepts	9	5	2
Easy reading material	10	5	3
CALLA	2	4	2
Chants, songs, poems	9	3	1
Cooperative grouping	9	5	3
Total physical response	10	2	1
Adapted classroom materials	9	5	1
Drama, role playing	9	5	1
Thematic units	7	5	2
Reading recovery	1	0	0

17. What is the response of students to the program?

Students in EAP were administered a survey in May 1996; questions and responses are recorded below.

In response to the question, "When you don't know what to do in class, what do you do?" students at elementary schools responded that they would

Response	*High impact*	*Medium impact*	*Low impact*
Ask teacher	91%	93%	90%
Ask another adult	44%	55%	44%
Ask a student	62%	58%	41%
Ask but not receive help	11%	11%	0%
Not ask	14%	8%	1%

In response to the same question, middle and high school students responded that they would

Response	*Middle school*	*High school*
Ask teacher	92%	85%
Ask another adult	26%	10%
Ask a student	48%	75%
Ask but not receive help	8%	6%
Not ask	9%	9%

In response to the question, "When you don't know what the teacher is saying, what do you do?" elementary school students responded that they would

Ask teacher	72%
Ask another adult	43%
Ask a student	60%
Ask but not receive help	10%
Not ask	13%

In response to the question, "When others do not know what you're trying to say, what do you do?" students responded that they would

Response	*Elementary*	*Middle*	*High*
Ask teacher	55%	44%	43%
Ask another adult	37%	35%	11%
Ask a student	50%	42%	48%
Ask but not receive help	12%	8%	6%
Not ask	18%	19%	21%

In response to the question, "When the teacher doesn't know what you have written, what do you do?" elementary school students responded that they would

Ask teacher	57%
Ask another adult	41%

Ask a student	45%
Ask but not receive help	10%
Not ask	19%

Students indicated that they demonstrated to the teacher their knowledge by

Response	*Elementary*	*Middle*	*High*
Taking tests	82%	59%	60%
Working in groups	70%	42%	33%
Telling the teacher	75%	50%	37%
Drawing/making charts	66%	20%	10%
Projects	66%	41%	24%
Completing homework	83%	68%	67%

Regarding tests, elementary school students indicated that

Tests are the same as others take	92%
Tests are read to me	45%
Only some of the questions need to be answered	26%
Extra time is allowed	52%
Tests are not necessary	7%

Students indicated that the following methods helped them most in learning English:

Method	*Elementary*	*Middle*	*High*
Reading stories	78%	44%	47%
Listening to stories	69%	28%	31%
Learning with ESOL teacher	81%	66%	66%
Learning with other teachers	67%	35%	20%
Talking to friends who speak English	67%	70%	75%
Talking to teachers who speak English	67%	NA	NA
Working with another student	59%	NA	NA
None of the above	5%	NA	NA

Elementary school students indicated that most of their friends at school are in

Their ESOL classes	47%
Their other classes	75%
Not in their classes	28%
They have no school friends	5%

Middle and high school students see most of their friends

Response	*Middle*	*High*
In their classes	74%	75%
In related arts/elective classes	36%	13%
At lunch	82%	80%
Never in school	7%	4%

Middle and high school students have joined the following activities:

Activity	*Middle*	*High*
Sports	48%	28%
Clubs/extra-curricular activities	9%	15%
Music	17%	2%
Student government	7%	0%
Other	18%	7%

18. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the elementary school program?

The English Acquisition Elementary School Subcommittee reported the following strengths:

- The English Acquisition Program is very well accepted by parents, teachers, and students as noted by survey responses.
- English Acquisition teachers in their role as instructors for students and consultants to classroom teachers are viewed as a significant strength of the program.
- Classroom teachers report that they have implemented a broader variety of teaching techniques and strategies to meet the needs of English Acquisition students as well as of all students in their classes.
- The English Acquisition curriculum is carefully coordinated with the classroom curriculum in order to strengthen the English Acquisition students' knowledge base and to enhance learning.
- A significant number of classroom teachers have requested training in "push-in" English Acquisition techniques.
- Classroom teachers and English Acquisition teachers, in conjunction with support staff, spend a great deal of time planning for effective instruction and working in team-teaching situations.
- Seventy-two percent of elementary school classroom teachers adapt curriculum to enhance student achievement.
- Teacher surveys report a shift in favor of adapting curriculum and the use of strategies from brain research studies.

- Scheduling of teachers and students is more flexible and creative.
- Teachers are employing more authentic assessment practices, including curriculum based assessment, running records, and individually designed projects.
- The English Acquisition Program is built on the development of literacy skills, a requirement for success in the regular classroom, as well as on the development of oral language skills.
- English Acquisition students must demonstrate improvements in reading, writing, and oral communication in order to progress through and eventually exit the program.
- Teachers have implemented readers' workshop and writers' workshop programs in their classrooms. These programs provide students with the opportunity to immerse themselves in literature specifically chosen to reflect their independent reading level and to enhance fluency and comprehension skills.
- Metropolitan Achievement Test average percentile scores for exited English Acquisition students are within average or above average ranges for reading and mathematics.
- The Reading Recovery Program has had a positive impact on the development of reading and communication skills of English Acquisition students.

The English Acquisition Elementary School Subcommittee reported the following weaknesses/concerns:

- It is difficult to monitor students and serve individual student needs in schools with high numbers of transient students.
- Teachers need more extensive training. A district-wide long-term inservice training plan is needed.
- Teachers require more time for collaborative planning in order to effectively employ the "push-in" teaching model. Without the collaborative efforts of both the classroom teacher and the English Acquisition teacher, the classroom instructor may not take responsibility for the English Acquisition students' progress.
- Teachers need additional time to research appropriate teaching materials, adapt existing curriculum, and focus on the individual needs of each child in the class.
- Teachers request that English Acquisition students be allotted additional instructional time and support.
- Due to the broad range of skills at the beginner level, teachers have requested a more intensive program, i.e., more English language instruction,

for beginners who arrive at school with no oral language proficiency in English.

- Medium impact schools need a lower teacher-student ratio for effective instruction and learning.
- Thirty-one percent of parents responded to the parent survey that they are unable to help because of language.
- Teachers expressed frustration at their inability to meet the needs of all of their students due to the wide range of student performance.
- English Acquisition students in low-impact schools are reluctant to ask another student for help when they don't know what to do in class.

To improve the program at the elementary school level, the following actions should be taken:

- Staffing allocations should be revised to provide a sufficient number of educators to meet the needs of the English Acquisition students and their classmates. Lower teacher-student ratios must be implemented in schools where large numbers of students are transient and most English Acquisition students enter at the beginner level.
- Time should be allotted for collaboration between the English Acquisition teacher and the classroom teacher. Mandated meetings must be held each week. This collaborative planning time will facilitate the sharing of teaching techniques, will foster highly productive "push-in" English Acquisition instruction, and will encourage co-ownership and responsibility for the progress of English Acquisition students.
- All staff members require additional training to promote the academic growth of students. This training should be required and held on school district time. All teachers must provide a firm foundation in literacy for students. Kindergarten teachers must be trained with strategies to promote oral language development and emergent literacy of English Acquisition students. Teachers need additional instruction in strategies to use cooperative learning, multiple intelligences, curriculum adaptation, cultural diversity, flexible grouping, readers' workshop, and authentic assessment.

19. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the middle school program?

Strengths of the middle school program:

- All English Acquisition Program students are in homerooms with native speakers of English and take all related arts courses, such as health, art, music, and physical education, in regular classrooms.

- Students are making steady progress in learning English as reflected in their test scores on the assessments conducted in November and May of each year by ESOL teachers.
- Middle school teachers support the English Acquisition program.
- Middle school teachers use a variety of techniques in their schools to support students learning English. Most often used are the pull-out ESOL program, after-school tutoring, adapting curriculum, and team planning.
- Middle school teachers use a variety of assessments when evaluating English Acquisition students, such as teacher observations, homework completion, criterion tests, and project based assessment.
- A majority of exited students received at least average grades in middle school subjects.
- Under the direction of the ESOL teacher, students are enhancing their reading skills by participating in a literature-based program, writing across the curriculum, and learning language through content.
- Many English Acquisition students responded that they regularly participated in school activities.

Weaknesses of the middle school program:

- Limited-English students from language backgrounds other than Spanish inevitably learn some Spanish when placed with their Spanish-speaking peers in the self-contained beginner program. This is a problem as it interferes with the learning of English.
- Average percentile scores in reading and mathematics were in the below average range for advanced and exited students in grades seven and eight. Only sixth-grade English Acquisition students' average percentile scores were within the average range on the standardized tests (MAT7) in reading and math. Scores on standardized tests may be low due to lack of general background information, limited vocabulary, and the timed nature of the test. Based on these low test scores, many English Acquisition students are placed in C track classes, due to the tracking structure of the middle school. It is difficult to make accurate placement decisions for English Acquisition students because of a lack of assessments that provide a valid academic profile of these students.
- Middle school EAP students expressed too often that, while learning English, they sought interaction and support solely from the ESOL teacher, without seeking the support of the regular classroom teacher.
- Many regular classroom teachers have not received training in techniques useful to support students learning English or in literacy teaching skills.

- For better planning and communication, ESOL teachers need to meet on a regular basis with all staff members who have limited-English students in their classes. Present staffing levels do not allow this in some schools.
- Teachers in the regular program need inservice training on techniques such as adapting curriculum, teaching to multiple intelligences, cooperative learning, and flexible grouping.

Recommendations for the middle school program:

- Restructure the self-contained beginner program for non-Spanish speaking beginners so that they continue to receive two periods of ESOL a day, but are mainstreamed in regular classes in mathematics, science, and social studies.
- Restructure the self-contained beginner program for selected sixth-grade students who are at the high range of the beginner level. They will continue to receive two periods of ESOL daily and be mainstreamed in regular classes in mathematics, science, and social studies.
- In medium- and low-impact schools, implement a pilot alternative *push-in model* for selected intermediate and advanced students that provides ESOL support within the regular academic classroom. If this is successful, some additional staffing may be needed to expand its use.
- To avoid inappropriate initial placement of English Acquisition students within the mainstream at the middle school level, a variety of authentic assessments should be used to evaluate a student's potential. As part of the restructuring of the middle schools, alternative methods of placement and grouping will be considered, with particular attention to English Acquisition students.
- Assure training for ESOL teachers and reading specialists in literacy skills so they can address the literacy needs of entering second-language learners who do not read and write in any language.
- Provide inservice training and set up teacher networks in the following areas for teachers throughout the year: cooperative learning, adaptation of curriculum, authentic assessment, cultural diversity, flexible grouping, reading workshop, strategies to reach multiple intelligences, and teaching basic literacy skills.
- Provide adequate staffing to permit joint planning time and allow for access to team meetings so that the English Acquisition teachers can discuss strategies and specific student needs with regular academic teachers.

20. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the high school program?

Strengths of the high school program:

- All English Acquisition Program students are in regular homerooms and are in regular courses outside of the core subjects.
- Grade point averages of high school TEP students (academic track) who exit the program are average to good (2.6 GPA [June 1996]).
- Many high school senior level TEP students (academic track) go on to success at four-year institutions such as Pennsylvania State University, University of Southern California, Rutgers University, and Allentown College.
- Parents of students in the English Acquisition Program at Liberty High School responded to the survey with a very high level of support for the English Acquisition Program.
- High school students responded that learning with the ESOL teacher and talking to friends who speak English helped the most in learning English.
- Forty-four percent of Liberty High School teachers reported that after-school tutors are used to support students learning English.
- Thirty percent of Liberty High School teachers reported being trained in cooperative learning and flexible grouping, techniques very supportive of students learning English.

Weaknesses of the high school program:

- Constant influx of new students and frequent student withdrawals, due to the high rates of transiency, make it difficult to monitor students and serve individual student needs.
- No department chair in the English Acquisition Program is available to visit classes, oversee curriculum writing, or monitor student progress. All teachers in this department teach six periods daily and spend one period daily in the English Acquisition Resource Room.
- Because high school teachers in the regular program do not know who is in or has exited from the English Acquisition Program or the level of their academic or English proficiency skills, they are limited in their ability to offer help or support to these students or to implement appropriate strategies.
- Achievement test average percentile scores are very low in reading and mathematics for both exited and advanced level high school students. Standardized tests are often totally new to these students. Lack of time may also be a major reason; exited students can perform well but need extra time to read and respond to questions in English.
- Grade point averages of former EAP high school students (vocational/business track) who exit the program are low (2.023 GPA [June 1996]).
- Although 37 percent of Liberty High School teachers indicated on the survey that computers were used to support students learning English, other

techniques, such as adapting assessment, reading workshop, writing workshop, curriculum adaptation, and collaborative teaching, were not listed by the majority of teachers responding (27 Liberty High School teachers responded).

Recommendations for the high school program:

To improve the program at the high school level, the team recommends the following:

- Revise the English language curriculum (business and vocational track) during 1996–97 school year to a *school to work* transition model in an attempt to provide motivation and goal setting. Modify the vocational-technical program, increase the business curriculum offered, and provide *English for specific purposes* instruction related to job experiences.
- Develop and implement a program that will enable TEP2 (intermediate level of proficiency) students, who are at a lower linguistic competency level, to enter and to succeed in mainstream subjects, i.e., science and social studies.
- Revitalize and restructure the mentor program, both for the academically bound students and the vocational students. In addition, the mentoring program needs to include the newly exited students, at least through their first year in mainstream classes.
- Establish ongoing contact between regular program teachers and teachers in the English Acquisition Program, both for students still in the program and newly exited students, and for staff to exchange information and teaching strategies.
- Provide each Liberty and Freedom High School teacher and administrator with a list of English Acquisition students, including those who exited the program.
- Provide high school teachers with a series of inservice sessions/workshops to improve mastery of teaching strategies.
- Appoint a department chair for the English Acquisition Program at the high school level to carry out the improvements mentioned above and to perform other necessary duties, such as teacher supervision, student scheduling, and mentor program coordination.

A task force of administrators and teachers at Liberty High School will address these recommendations and develop an action plan. The plans will be reviewed in April 1997 and steps taken toward implementation.

CONCLUSION

After three years of implementation, the English Acquisition program is very well accepted by parents and staff. Parent and teacher acceptance is highest in the elementary schools, where the most fundamental change was made from the former Spanish/English bilingual program to a program of English instruction. Two-thirds of the second-language learners in the district attend school at the elementary school level. Average percentile scores on standardized tests in reading and mathematics for limited-English students who have reached the advanced level in English are within the average range in grades 1 through 6.

At the elementary school level, the greatest success is achieved with a "push-in" or integrated model, where the ESOL teacher and the regular classroom teacher work together in the regular classroom setting. The content and focus of the reading and writing classes are the same for native speakers and English language learners, but the materials may be at an easier level for the student acquiring English.

No longer are limited-English students bused from their neighborhood schools, at a substantial cost to the district, for the dubious benefit of having all Spanish speakers grouped together, as was the practice before 1993. Instead, students attend their neighborhood schools and are integrated with their English-speaking classmates for the added opportunity of informal English language experience.

At the middle school level, some modifications are needed in order to move more English language learners into regular classroom courses with support from an ESOL teacher.

At the high school level, the greatest need is to develop an improved program for the student who is in the vocational or business track. Some of these students have had a history of poor school attendance and have little or no literacy in their home language. The district is exploring a *school to work model*, providing a workplace experience and academic classes using *English for specific purposes*.

A strong need for sustained staff development was voiced at all levels. This training, as noted by many teachers in their responses to the Bethlehem survey, will improve instruction for *all students*.

At the end of three years, the Bethlehem Area School District's English Acquisition Program has completed a thorough, detailed evaluation of what it is doing for limited-English students. From this preliminary assessment, there are distinct signs of improved student progress, high levels of parental satisfaction, and reasonable support of teaching staff. An honest review of the areas that need modification and improvement rounds out the picture of the English Acquisition Program on its third birthday. Continuation of this longitudinal study will yield significant data when it is reviewed once again two years hence.

THE COST OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION: UPDATING A NATIONAL STUDY

Terry Graham

The U.S. English Foundation recently published the latest available figures on the cost of bilingual education in a research report entitled *Bilingual Education in the United States: 1993–94 Update.* This study updates the information originally published by the American Legislative Exchange Council and U.S. English, *Report Card on American Education 1994,* reviewed in the Fall 1995 *READ Perspectives,* Vol. II–2, pp. 37–50. The original study, which covered the 1991–92 school year, provided an overview of limited-English proficient (LEP) students in U.S. schools, including which states have the heaviest enrollments, what special programs serve these students' needs, and how much money is spent on these efforts.

MAJOR FINDINGS

The 1993–94 update notes that:

- In School Year 1993–94, a *minimum* of $12.6 billion was spent on LEP students, with 63 percent spent on bilingual programs, 27.8 percent on English as a Second Language (ESL), and 8.5 percent on "unknown" types of programs.
- It is still difficult to quantify federal, state and local monies spent on language development programs for limited-English students because of inconsistencies in definitions, funding sources, reporting procedures and requirements, and a general lack of standardized assessment tools.
- There is still no conclusive evidence that bilingual programs (emphasizing native language instruction) are superior to English as a Second Language programs (focusing on the early and intensive teaching of English), although advocates of programs using native languages continue to make such claims.
- Socioeconomic status is positively correlated with rapid acquisition of a second language (English); that is, the level of education attained by the parents of limited-English students has a decided effect on the length of time needed to learn a second language for academic purposes.

A chart included in the report details how many LEP students are in each state, and details enrollment in and funding for bilingual versus ESL programs.

DEFINING LIMITED-ENGLISH PROFICIENCY

There is no nationally agreed on definition of what is meant by the term "Limited-English Proficient." For purposes of this study, limited-English students are described in this manner: (1) born outside of the U.S. or whose native language is not English, (2) from an environment in which a language other than English is dominant, or (3) an American Indian or Alaskan Native, whose English skills have been affected by another language.

The lack of consistent standards or reliable tests for determining which students are not able to do regular classroom work in English is duly noted in this study. The identification of LEP students, then, is not uniform: thus a student labeled LEP in one state may be classified differently in another state. In fact, different definitions of LEP are used by school districts within the same state.

TYPES OF PROGRAMS SERVING LEP STUDENTS

The U.S. English report identifies three main approaches to instruction for LEP students:

(1) Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE), which uses the student's native language while acquiring second language competence. School subjects are taught in the student's native language so that the student learns the subject matter, and progresses through the grades while he/she gradually learns English. Students in TBE programs are segregated from English-speaking peers most of the school day. Teachers must be fluent in the student's home language and English; textbooks and teaching materials must be available in the native language and in English.

(2) Developmental Bilingual Education (DBE) teaches English and non-English speakers together, allowing both groups to learn in two languages. This program requires bilingual teachers, with textbooks and collateral materials in two languages.

(3) English as a Second Language programs, in which students focus intensively on learning to speak, read, and write in English, using a special curriculum that teaches school subjects and English language at the same time. Native language use is limited to social adjustment and parent-school communications. LEP students join regular classes with English speaking students for part of the day. ESL programs do not require teachers to speak a language other than English. Course materials are printed in English.

Since twenty-four of the nation's twenty-five largest metropolitan areas report that *at least ten languages other than English are spoken by students in these districts*, Transitional Bilingual Education and Developmental Bilingual Education would require as many distinct education tracks as there are language groups. Finding qualified bilingual teachers and textbooks printed in the various languages spoken by students is not just difficult but impossible. Acknowledging this, the report states that "the ethnic diversity found in many communities creates the need for flexibility in the choice of methodology at the local school district."

This begs the question as to why a district must offer "bilingual" approaches at all, since the paper repeatedly notes the lack of data supporting their superiority to alternative English teaching techniques. Further, English language programs do not require hard-to-find qualified bilingual teachers or textbooks in various languages, nor do they demand that students learn to read and write in two languages, thereby making ESL programs more cost-effective and easier to implement than native-language based bilingual programs. The report does address these issues.

DEMOGRAPHICS OF LEP STUDENTS

U.S. English reports that in the school year 1993–94, approximately three million public school students were labeled LEP. Of these, 82.4 percent were in special programs.

Ten states have 86 percent of the nation's LEP students: California (1.2 million), Texas (422,677), New York (216,448), Florida (144, 731), Illinois (99,637), Arizona (95,011), New Mexico (79,829), New Jersey (53,161), Michigan (45,163), and Massachusetts (44,094).

Hispanics and Asians comprise the vast majority of LEP students, although the report does not provide numbers of these students in the population. Among Asians, the largest language groups are Pilipino (20 percent), Chinese dialects (17 percent), Southeast Asian languages (13 percent), and any number of other languages with smaller numbers of speakers. Hispanics from 35 different countries of origin share the same native language. The report fails to note that as many as 58 percent of the students labeled "LEP" are U.S. born.

Interestingly, the families of 75 percent of the Asian students consider themselves bilingual, with low proficiency in their "native" language. Hispanics, like their Asian counterparts, also rate their English proficiency as high and their "home language" as low. These findings seem to contradict the very definition of LEP students (see numbers 1 and 2 above), which emphasizes that a language other than English is the dominant language of LEP students. This apparent contradiction, which seems to reveal that the majority of LEP students come from families that are more fluent in English than in their so-called native language, is not noted in the report.

EXPENDITURES

As was the case in 1991–92, most funding for public elementary and secondary schools comes from the state and local government (93 percent), with the balance provided by federal sources. Local funding sources vary dramatically. For example, the State of Hawaii funds 91.7 percent of public school budgets, while New Hampshire's schools receive 88.7 percent from local funding sources. Often, state and local funds allocated to bilingual programs are difficult to track due to inconsistent reporting procedures. In addition to state and local funding sources, federal Title VII funding distributes $120 million via grants to school districts to develop new programs for LEP students. These grants, which are to "supplement not supplant" state and local funding, are administered by the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Affairs (OBLEMLA).

The report notes that the U.S. Supreme Court's landmark decision affecting limited-English students, *Lau v. Nichols*, did not mandate bilingual education, but rather held that LEP students must be provided equal educational opportunities, giving broad discretion to schools as to the approach to be adopted. Nevertheless, in Fiscal Years 1991 and 1992, the Department of Education funded native-language programs versus ESL programs by a factor of 4:1 and 3:1 respectively ($79,326,000 and $84,031,000 versus $21,706,000 and $32,125,000). There is no explanation for the relative increase in funding for ESL programs in 1992.

It is estimated that $15 billion is currently (School Year 1994–95) spent on educating LEP students, projected to exceed $18 billion for 1995–96. This figure was derived by calculating average daily attendance spending for 1993–94, multiplied by the number of LEP students in each type of program, with projected increases in the number of students.

Currently, there is no federal reporting requirement for states or for local districts to account for their spending on limited-English students. The report cites the *Summary of State Educational Agency Program Survey of States' Limited English Proficient Persons and Available Education Services 1993–94*, produced for the Department of Education under contract by the Special Issues Analysis Center (SIAC), which quantifies the number of LEP students nationwide by state. (All states except Pennsylvania, Virginia, and West Virginia applied for a $75,000 grant from the USDOE to gather these data.)

NUMBER OF LEP STUDENTS IN BILINGUAL VERSUS ESL PROGRAMS

Certainly the most valuable information in this report appears in a table showing the total number of LEP students in each state, how many are in "bilingual," "ESL," or "Unknown" programs, and what the total state and local expenditures are for each program, as closely as they can be estimated. Table 1, reproduced at the end of this review, presents the *minimum* cost of public education for LEP students for 1993–94, but does not include costs of other special programs that may be required by these students.

Two hundred thousand LEP students are enrolled in programs under the "Unknown" category, suggesting that confusion in data collection and inconsistent program definitions may be in part to blame. In 1993–94, 486,801 of the nation's LEP students were in no specially designed programs of instruction. The report does not speculate as to why these students were not receiving any special help or whether their parents may have chosen not to enroll them in bilingual classrooms.

CONCLUSION

With more than twice as many LEP students enrolled in bilingual as compared with ESL programs, and with $15 billion spent in 1993–94 on educating these students, the question is: Are Americans getting value for their education dollars? No studies demonstrate that bilingual programs are superior to ESL programs, and Hispanic students who make up 60 percent of the students in bilingual programs continue to have the highest dropout rate of any group of students in the U.S.

The strong recommendation in this report is that expenditures on bilingual and ESL programs be tracked at the local and state level, reported to a central agency, and correlated with the results of these programs, i.e., in academic achievement of students, high school graduation rates, decrease in dropouts. There is no way of knowing, from the information available at this time, if too much or too little is spent on limited-English students. But it is undeniably clear that a great deal of money is spent with no real fiscal accountability. One cannot calculate precise expenditures or link them to benefits of one type of program. "This failure is itself a significant indictment of the management of bilingual and ESL programs throughout the states," is the final judgment of the study.

Table 1

Number of Limited English Proficient Students and Expenditures by State—School Year 1993–94

State	Number of Students				State & Local Expenditures			
	Bilingual	ESL	Unknown	Total	Bilingual	ESL	Unknown	Total
Alabama	na	na	3,180	3,180	na	na	$13,057,080	$12,265,260
Alaska	2,887	2,787	7,711	13,385	$28,324,357	$27,343,257	75,652,621	131,320,235
Arizona	26,010	51,578	4,636	82,224	110,282,400	218,690,720	19,656,640	348,629,760
Arkansas	0	1,800	2,202	4,002	0	7,065,000	8,642,850	15,707,850
California	717,394	175,076	0	892,470	3,404,034,530	830,735,620	0	4,234,770,150
Colorado	7,993	13,069	0	21,062	40,604,440	66,390,520	0	106,994,960
Connecticut	12,893	920	13,813	109,177,924	0	7,790,560	116,968,484	
Delaware	442	598	100	1,140	2,985,268	4,038,892	675,400	7,699,560
D. C.	na	na	4,345	4,345	na	na	37,015,055	37,015,055
Florida	na	144,731	0	144,731	na	798,336,196	0	798,336,196
Georgia	na	na	8,540	8,540	na	na	40,872,440	40,872,440
Hawaii	6,624	4,997	0	11,621	39,896,352	30,096,931	0	69,993,283
Idaho	0	5,642	0	5,642	0	22,223,838	0	22,223,838
Illinois	76,926	22,252	0	99,178	409,400,172	118,425,144	0	527,825,316
Indiana	295	1,073	916	2,284	1,690,350	6,148,290	5,248,680	13,087,320
Iowa	0	3,564	1,050	4,614	0	19,277,676	5,679,450	24,957,126
Kansas	415	5,151	1,031	6,597	2,348,485	29,149,509	5,834,429	37,332,423
Kentucky	251	1,159	269	1,679	1,313,985	6,067,365	1,408,215	8,789,565
Louisiana	0	356	5,374	5,730	0	1,573,520	23,753,080	25,326,600
Maine	3	30	1,444	1,477	18,282	182,820	8,799,736	9,000,838
Maryland	42	10,056	3,853	13,951	274,302	65,675,736	25,163,943	91,113,981
Massachusetts	38,285	0	0	38,285	264,089,930	0	0	264,089,930
Michigan	22,467	0	697	23,164	146,889,246	0	4,556,986	151,446,232
Minnesota	3,210	14,076	0	17,286	18,656,520	81,809,712	0	100,466,232
Mississippi	89	231	761	1,081	326,185	846,615	2,789,065	3,961,865
Missouri	0	1,437	876	2,313	0	6,775,455	4,130,340	10,905,795

Table 1 (continued)

Montana	368	125	2,929	3,422	2,060,064	699,750	16,396,542	19,156,356
Nebraska	192	866	1,909	2,967	982,848	4,433,054	9,772,171	15,188,073
Nevada	3,289	2,993	7,631	13,913	16,415,399	14,938,063	38,086,321	69,439,783
New Hampshire	0	502	271	773	0	3,010,494	1,625,187	4,635,681
New Jersey	39,970	8,935	765	49,670	387,709,000	86,669,500	7,420,500	481,799,000
New Mexico	45,311	465	18,816	64,592	225,648,780	2,315,700	93,703,680	321,668,160
New York	180,509	0	0	180,509	1,657,072,620	0	0	1,657,072,620
North Carolina	0	4,116	4,111	8,227	0	20,938,092	20,912,657	41,850,749
North Dakota	0	400	2,044	2,444	0	1,794,000	9,167,340	10,961,340
Ohio	3,703	3,612	2,021	9,336	20,496,105	19,992,420	11,186,235	51,674,760
Oklahoma	2,029	3,373	14,932	20,334	8,430,495	14,014,815	62,042,460	84,487,770
Oregon	250	19,401	0	19,651	1,515,750	117,628,263	0	119,144,013
Pennsylvania	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Rhode Island	1,372	6,462	245	8,079	9,885,260	46,558,710	1,765,225	58,209,195
South Carolina	9	1,348	425	1,782	43,452	6,508,144	2,051,900	8,603,496
South Dakota	13	3	2,218	2,234	59,735	13,785	10,191,710	10,265,230
Tennessee	na	na	3,136	3,136	na	na	13,541,248	13,541,248
Texas	206,693	155,815	34,209	396,717	1,100,226,839	829,403,245	182,094,507	2,111,724,591
Utah	6,180	0	12,699	18,879	21,494,040	0	44,167,122	65,661,162
Vermont	0	496	0	496	0	3,577,152	0	3,577,152
Virginia	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Washington	na	na	28,363	28,363	na	na	160,619,669	160,619,669
West Virginia	na	na	na	na	na	na	na	na
Wisconsin	na	na	13,953	13,953	na	na	93,610,677	93,610,677
Wyoming	0	75	675	750	0	442,425	3,981,825	4,424,250
TOTAL U.S.	1,406,114	668,650	199,257	2,274,021	$8,032,353,115	$3,513,790,428	$1,073,063,546	$12,618,415,269

Source: Bilingual Education in the United States, 1993–94 Update

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Erratum

In Table 8 of "The Languages of the United States: What Is Spoken and What It Means" by Barry R. Chiswick and Paul W. Miller (*Read Perspectives* III-2 [Fall 1996]), the "Fraction Females 25–64 in Labor Force" who speak "Other Languages" at home should read 0.63 rather than 0.74 (*1990 Census of Population and Housing, Public Use Microdata Sample, Technical Documentation,* Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office [1993]).

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

CHARLES GLENN is a professor and the Chairman of Administration, Training and Policy Studies at the Boston University School of Education, and was previously in charge of civil rights and urban education for the state of Massachusetts for twenty-one years. His *Educating Immigrant Children: Schools and Language Minorities in 12 Nations* (with Ester J. De Jong) was published by Garland in 1996; he is also the author of *The Myth of the Common School* (1988), *Choice of Schools in Six Nations* (1989), and *Educational Freedom in Eastern Europe* (1994, 1995). Five of Glenn's children have attended the Rafael Hernandez Bilingual School in Boston, and he was Massachusetts' first director of bilingual education.

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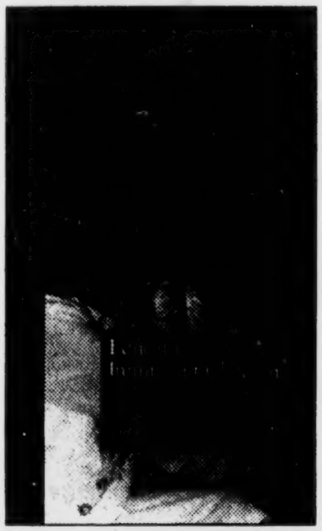

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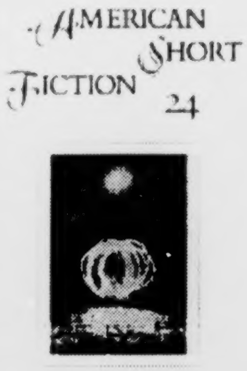

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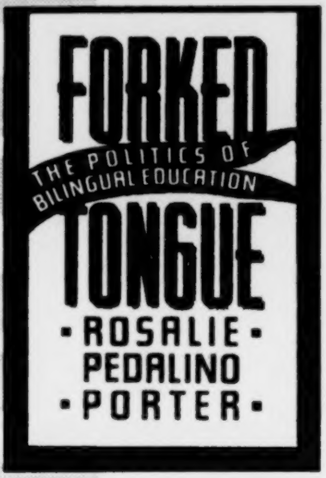

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INTRODUCTION

Scondary school students make up one-third of the 2.4 million limited-English proficient (LEP) students in the U.S. Yet, very little attention has been given in the research literature to the quality of education provided for these students in the secondary schools, that is, grades 7–12. In an apparent attempt to rectify this, the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), published in September 1996 one of the few studies in this area, *A Descriptive Study of the ESEA Title VII Educational Services Provided for Secondary School, Limited English Proficient Students.*

It is apparent from the title of the OBEMLA report that it will be narrow in scope, since it only provides information on 100 of the secondary school programs which have received Title VII grants from the federal government. The most useful information contained in this report is in the appended "Review of the Literature." The main body of the report provides case studies of five school programs, and a fair amount of data on how school districts have used their supplemental federal money. Unfortunately, the authors do not follow through on their stated purpose of "identifying successful strategies that are being used to deliver services to the rapidly growing numbers of LEP youth." They evade the responsibility of endorsing one set of teaching methods or way of organizing instruction over another, or of making any judgments on program effectiveness.

In his review of the OBEMLA study, Kevin Clark concludes that the five case studies and the section titled "Lessons Learned" provide the most helpful data for school districts interested in changing and improving their instructional programs for LEP students in their secondary schools. But, he stresses, a valuable opportunity has been missed. It would have benefited teachers, administrators and policy makers even more to know the outcomes in student achievement in these five districts with exemplary programs.

Regardless of its shortcomings, the OBEMLA report deserves a careful reading. Limited-English students who enter U.S. schools in the seventh grade or above present the greatest challenge and are often at the greatest risk of failing to meet high school graduation standards. The next issue of *READ Perspectives*, Spring 1998 (Vol. V:1), will address itself to this problem by featuring a detailed description of a model secondary school program in an academically superior public school district.

Barbara Mujica's review of two recent books that take diametrically opposed positions on the education of language minority children is both informative and provocative. In their books, *Under Attack: The Case against Bilingual Education* (1996) by Stephen Krashen and *Bilingual Education in Massachusetts: The Emperor Has No Clothes* (1996) by Christine H. Rossell and Keith Baker, the authors present, clearly and forcefully, the arguments of the two armed camps in the bilingual education battleground.

Krashen's title is disingenuous since the entire thrust of *Under Attack* is a strong defense of bilingual education. According to Krashen, the ideal education for students whose first language is not English would provide extended instruction in the native language while allowing for the very gradual development of English language skills, supplemented with special efforts to achieve balanced bilingualism and an equal level of literacy in both languages. Little new research is provided to support the benefits of educating language minority children in two languages from Kindergarten through grade 12. Yet, Krashen is, as he has always been, passionate in his dedication to the bilingual education ideal.

Rossell and Baker's book does not start out with a preconceived idea. Instead, it focuses on the actual implementation of bilingual education in the state with the longest experience in this field—Massachusetts—and also provides one of the most comprehensive recent updates of bilingual education research. The authors conducted hundreds of interviews with teachers and administrators, observed classrooms, and reviewed state documents to arrive at their main conclusions. First, the basic idea of bilingual education—that children must be literate in their native language before making the transition to English—is unsubstantiated and invalid; and, second, the Massachusetts bilingual education law is so unreasonable and contrary to common sense that it is routinely circumvented.

The arguments marshaled by the authors of the two books, as presented by the reviewer, will provide ammunition for each reader's preferred position. I strongly recommend the reading of both books in their entirety.

Our third selection is taken from one of a trio of reports produced by RAND's Institute on Education and Training, Center for Research on Immigration Policy. These reports examine the participation of immigrants in the nation's educational systems and the effects of increasing immigration on U.S. schools and institutions of higher education. The last report in the series, *How Immigrants Fare in U.S. Education* (1996) by Georges Vernez and Allan Abrahamse, is of special interest to educators of language minority students as it concentrates on the participation and performance of immigrant children in U.S. primary and secondary schools and in institutions of higher education. It also identifies those differing factors—both individual and family—that are associated with the educational attainments of immigrants and native born English speakers. Permission was granted to reprint sections of this report in *READ Perspectives,* and we include five short, informative segments in this issue.

The dramatic increase in the number of immigrant children in U.S. schools in the past thirty years raises questions about the ability of educational institutions to meet the needs of this new constituency and about the educational performance of these students. A legitimate concern of educators and of the business community and government is how well immigrant children and the children of immigrants are being prepared to enter the labor force, since this group is of increasing importance to the nation's economic future.

The four conclusions of the study highlighted here are explained more fully in this issue of *READ Perspectives*:

1. Immigrant students and their parents hold more positive attitudes toward schooling and have higher expectations for a college education than native students and their parents. These relative aspirations, however, are not maintained among Hispanic natives and their parents, who have the lowest ratings on indicators of college aspirations. The authors remind us that academic and motivational preparation for college must begin in primary and secondary school, and especially early on at the high school level.
2. All else being equal, the higher educational aspirations of immigrants translate into higher rates of college-attendance for them than for natives.
3. The largest discrepancies in educational attainment are to be found between racial/ethnic groups regardless of immigration status. Just as immigrant and native Hispanics' college preparation and college-attendance rates are consistently the lowest, those of Asians are consistently the highest, with whites and blacks in between. These discrepancies present the greatest public policy challenges.
4. Immigrant youths, most particularly those of Hispanic origin, who enter the country after the age of 15 or so, are less likely to enter the U.S. school system or stay in school than children who come at an earlier age. The number of such children is not negligible.

In summary, the RAND report warns that a growing segment of the student population, primarily of Hispanic origin, lags behind other groups in its educational attainment. Enhancing the educational opportunities for these students is a larger task than schools alone can accomplish. The report suggests that effective strategies be found for overcoming the low income and education of immigrant parents, and for improving the low educational expectations these parents have for their children.

The last, though by no means the least important, selection in this issue is a review by Charles L. Glenn commissioned by the READ Institute. Glenn was one of seven outside reviewers invited to examine the National Research Council's study, *Improving Schooling for Language Minority Children: A Research Agenda*, before its publication in January 1997. The study was funded by the U.S. Department of Education and several private foundations at an estimated cost of $500,000. It is a comprehensive assessment of thirty years of bilingual education research, with recommendations for the future research still to be pursued.

The panel of twelve scholars that produced this study, led by Professor Kenji Hakuta of Stanford University and Dr. Diane L. August of the National Academy of Sciences, represents a group generally acknowledged to be favorable to bilingual education. To their credit, the panel reaches conclusions that do not support the maintenance of bilingual education as the most effective approach for educating language minority children. As presented by Professor Glenn, the most startling conclusions of the study are two that fly directly in the face of the "received wisdom" promoted by advocates for native language instruction:

1. There is no evidence that there will be long-term advantages or disadvantages to teaching limited-English students in the native language.

2. Teaching children to read in English first, instead of in their native languages, does not have negative consequences.

Glenn finds other nuggets of data in the NRC study that contradict some cherished attitudes among educators. He discovers, for example, that there is no research to support the notion that teachers who are themselves members of minority groups are more effective than others who work with children from those same groups. However, there is evidence that emphasizing cultural and ethnic differences in the classroom is counterproductive because it leads to stereotyping, reinforces the differences between language-minority and language-majority children, and, consequently, does not lead to better self-esteem for minority children.

There is much valuable information in the Glenn review of this major study. Although the READ Institute published it originally as the first paper in the new *READ ABSTRACTS* series of Research and Policy Reviews and gave it a wide distribution, we believe this is such an important work that it must appear in *READ Perspectives* as well. Readers who wish to obtain the entire National Research Council study may order it from the National Academy Press in Washington, D.C.

Rosalie Pedalino Porter, Editor
READ Perspectives

LEP STUDENTS IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS: A CRITIQUE OF THE U. S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION STUDY

Kevin Clark

Like the elusive "Big Foot" and the Loch Ness Monster, reliable research information about secondary school programs and practices for Limited English Proficient (LEP) students remains largely a mystery. Even though LEP students in secondary grades (7–12) in some states comprise nearly a third of the total limited-English school population, the available information for secondary school policy makers, administrators and teachers is very scarce. For whatever reasons, the great bulk of research and studies on English learners has focused on elementary grade students, leaving secondary schools to their own means when designing and implementing instructional programs for their LEP students. To help fill that gap, the U.S. Department of Education, through its Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), commissioned DevTech Systems, Inc., to conduct a descriptive study of the Title VII education services provided to secondary level LEP students. It has been estimated that 290,000 of the 1.9 million LEP students in the United States received Title VII supported instruction in Fiscal Year 1990 (DevTech, 1996, p. 1). On September 30, 1996, DevTech Systems, Inc., released its 79-page report, which is reviewed in the following pages.

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Though the study provides educators, policy makers and teachers with a rich summation of what is known to date about secondary level LEP students through its supplemental "Review of the Literature," it falls woefully short in providing any solid evidence which could serve to support a school's choice of educational programs and practices. Though the authors claim in their elaboration on the background and purpose of the study that one of their aims was to "identify successful strategies that are being used to deliver services to the rapidly growing numbers of LEP youth who have differing cultural and linguistic background needs" (p. 4), the study provides little more than anecdotal information about various methods and refuses to endorse one way of organizing programs and instruction over another. As far as providing a much-needed window into the instructional practices that characterize secondary

LEP education, the report instead muddies the water with methodological definitions that are at best fuzzy, and at worst just plain confusing. In short, the study provides a healthy diet of how schools and districts have used supplemental federal Title VII money to provide services to LEP students, but manages to largely skirt the sticky issue of effectiveness and outcomes.

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Secondary school LEP students, for a variety of reasons, have been largely ignored in the voluminous studies of what constitutes good educational practice for bilingual learners. Though several studies have made some inroads (BW Associates, 1992), there is still a relative lack of information available to teachers, administrators and policy makers with respect to LEP students in grades 7 through 12. At the same time, it is well known that secondary level LEP students tend to drop-out of school at higher rates than non-LEP students, and that the range of factors that they must deal with as they learn a new language and a new culture is immense. The reasons for this lack of research are fairly obvious: lag time between their increase in the student population and the research process; transience of students; variety of background factors that make generalizations more difficult; and the structure of most secondary schools. Unlike elementary schools— which are oftentimes easier places to gather information—junior, middle and high schools are quite often byzantine in their organization. They frequently resemble small cities, complete with different departments, a multi-tiered administration and a frenetic pace that is characterized by structured time periods, large numbers of staff and a variety of problems and issues that reflect the communities around them. Even defining or describing an educational "program" at a secondary school can prove challenging, since they oftentimes involve so many different people and parts of the "system." The simple question "What is your LEP program" can prove confounding sometimes even to people who work in secondary schools. The study's authors sum it up this way: "...There is little reliable information regarding their (LEP students) educational condition." And while some secondary LEP students achieve academically, little is known about how they succeed. The converse is also unfortunately true; many experience problems and drop out of the system for reasons as diverse as the students themselves.

GOALS AND METHODS OF THE STUDY

To shed more light on secondary school LEP programs and approaches, the U.S. Department of Education, through OBEMLA, commissioned this study which sought to:

1. Collect information on Title VII services currently provided to secondary LEP students; and
2. Identify successful strategies that are being used to deliver services to secondary LEP students.

DevTech Systems, Inc., and its subcontractor, Juarez Associates, implemented the following activities to conduct their study:

1. A review of the literature on secondary level LEP students;
2. Development of a data base that was generated from surveys sent to Title VII schools and districts; and
3. Case studies of five "exemplary" sites that were selected from Title VII grantees that provided services to LEP students in 1993 to ten or more students.

Early on in this section of the report, the authors identify several problem areas that complicate the task of educating secondary school students with a limited knowledge of English:

- The obvious difficulty in providing rigorous, grade appropriate course work to students who have little or no English language skills;
- The unpredictable and sometimes rapid influx of unaccompanied minors among the recent arrivals;
- The large and growing number of secondary level LEP youth who arrive at school illiterate and either unschooled or under-schooled in their first language, making even the provision of primary language instruction a challenge;
- The relatively large number of LEP high school students who are economically disadvantaged and who are obligated to work to help support their families and themselves; and
- The cultural differences and emotional problems that are found in this age group that present barriers to instruction.

Case Studies Projects

To obtain detailed anecdotal information on the high-school age population served, OBEMLA asked DevTech to conduct an in-depth study of five Title VII grantees providing services to secondary school students. The five projects selected for in-depth study were selected based on recommendations from OBEMLA staff, the state directors of bilingual education, and the directors of the Multifunctional Resource Centers (MRCs). The sites selected were:

1. The Bell High School project in the Los Angeles Unified School District, in California;
2. The San Dieguito Union High School District in Encinitas, California;
3. The Eastern Shore of Maryland Educational Consortium in Centerville, Maryland;
4. The International High School at La Guardia Community College in Queens, New York; and
5. The Spring Branch Independent School District in Houston, Texas.

THE LITERATURE REVIEW

As a backdrop to conducting surveys and site visits at the five designated high-quality Title VII programs serving secondary LEP students, the study reviews the available literature and provides details on the characteristics of the secondary LEP population in the country, including: ethnic and linguistic diversity, educational and social needs, population mobility, teacher characteristics, adolescent problems, language acquisition, achievement level comparisons, instructional practices, and social and non-academic services. DevTech and its subcontractor, Juarez and Associates, reviewed more than 150 sources, including databases of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE), Education Resource and Information Center (ERIC), National Refugee Clearinghouse, National Literacy Clearinghouse, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, and Bureau of the Census. Databases at the University of California in Los Angeles, Georgetown University, American University, and George Washington University were also reviewed.

Some of the major ideas and information trends that emerged from the literature review are summarized here.

Ethnic and Linguistic Diversity

School districts throughout the country continue to report not only a rapid growth in the number of LEP students they serve, but also an increasing variety in the number of different languages spoken by their students. In the Los Angeles Unified School District, for example, more than 100 languages are spoken by LEP students. This is true in Chicago and New York City districts as well. The study estimates that secondary LEP students number between 20 percent and 33 percent of the total U.S. LEP population, with some states like California being on the higher end (Fleishman and Hopstock, 1993 and California Department of Education Language Census, 1996). As has been customary, Spanish is the primary language of approximately 70 percent of students served in Federal bilingual and ESL programs (OBEMLA, 1990, p.5).

Though the sheer numbers of LEP students represent serious challenges for districts and schools, the study points out what is proving to be an even more difficult scenario: a change in composition of the LEP population, including language diversity, cultural diversity, socioeconomic status, and prior schooling. Factoring in the differences between immigrants and refugees, the study concludes that schools are faced with a staggering array of ethnic, linguistic and academic variables to consider in the design and implementation of educational programs for secondary level LEP students. The study also mentions—but doesn't elaborate on—the unique situation of U.S. born LEP students; those who were born here but who enter school speaking a first language other than English. Though no exact figures have been printed on the number of US-born LEP students currently enrolled in secondary schools, there is at least some emerging data that suggest this number might be higher than previously thought. For example, a study by the U. S. General Accounting Office on LEP students reports that immigrants account for only 43 percent of the limited-English students in our schools. In her review of this study, Porter (1995) asks the obvious question: Are 57 percent of the LEP students native born? She goes on to speculate that this high number could be due to inappropriate identification and could include students from the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Whatever the reason, high schools find themselves dealing with an ever increasing number of students born here but whose linguistic profile resembles that of a limited English proficient student.

School Responses to Language and Ethnic Diversity

This diversity among secondary LEP students, the study reports, is largely responsible for the wide variety of programs and practices adopted by secondary schools to meet the challenge. Like their students, the schools that serve them are quite different. Even in the same district, the study notes, schools are not similar, though the most common configuration for high schools includes grades 9 through 12. Others systems include Newcomer Centers for grades 9–12, which are usually for immigrants only, junior high schools with grades 7–9, and high schools with grades 10–12. Given the variance in programs at the feeder elementary schools (early exit bilingual, late-exit bilingual, ESL only, Specially Designed Academic Instruction in English, two-way immersion, etc.), the report points out the obvious: continuity of program for these students is often lacking. Factors such as limited or non-existent interaction between the feeder schools and secondary schools, poor language assessment and re-assessment practices, and incomplete records make proper placement of secondary LEP students more difficult. BW Associates (1992) found that in-depth assessments of secondary LEP students were seldom made and that, despite their differences, LEP students were typically grouped together for instruction.

The study also briefly mentions the ever-changing ebb and flow of state policies with respect to educating LEP students, and the more local sociopolitical and historical backgrounds in which schools must educate these students. Despite such a pronouncement, the authors provide nothing further to explain this claim.

LEP Student Mobility

A common problem for secondary LEP students is poor attendance due to family mobility. Though patterns of mobility vary enormously across ethnic groups, it is generally highest in communities that serve as points of entry for immigration or in communities with high concentrations of migrant workers (BW Associates, 1992). Mobility wreaks havoc on credit accumulation, course completion and graduation schedules. Students who transfer between districts find themselves out of step with the new requirements, and feel as if they are starting over. Also, at the secondary level some students do not move from school to school, but instead disappear for long periods of time during the academic year. The study points out that many immigrant families do not understand U.S. educational expectations regarding uninterrupted school attendance, and that immigrant adolescents and their parents lack knowledge about the need to accrue high school credits in order to graduate (National Commission on Migrant Education, 1992, p. 59).

Obstacles to Instruction

For many secondary school LEP students, learning a new language is just one of many issues that confront them in their daily school lives. In addition to academic challenges, the study notes that many LEP students face economic pressures and problems of having to adapt to a new culture. Many must work to contribute to the family income. They also have social, legal and health needs. Moreover, they often find themselves on the bottom rung, both academically and socially. For those who lack schooling in their primary language, the picture is even more bleak. The demands of the curriculum and the short time they have in which to master English leaves many LEP high school students significantly behind their English-speaking classmates (Collier, 1987, p. 617).

Because of these accumulating pressures, many secondary LEP students are at risk of failing or dropping out. Indeed, limited English proficiency has been identified as a risk factor in the research on dropouts (Steinberg, et al., 1984). The statistics on high school drop-out rates for LEP secondary students is startling: Spanish speakers age 16 to 24 have a higher drop-out rate than their English-speaking peers or speakers of other European and Asian languages (McArthur, 1993). Hispanics, the study notes, have the highest drop-out rates of all ethnic groups (CCSSO, 1993). The study also mentions in a short section concluding the literature review that youth gangs feed on many of the negative factors affecting this group of students. "In many cases," the report reads, "gangs provide a structure and a sense of direction."

CHARACTERISTICS OF PROGRAMS AND STAFF

The school districts featured in this study, like many others across the country, face severe and on-going shortages of qualified teachers who could teach students in their primary language. Interestingly, not all of the projects relied on primary language instruction, so the relevance of this observation is debatable. Nonetheless, the report presents a bleak picture of the number of teachers qualified to provide instruction in Spanish, Vietnamese and several other Asian languages. The study correctly notes, though, that teachers need to be more fully trained and competent in how to provide high-quality instruction—in whatever language—to secondary LEP students. In one particularly cogent sentence, the report states that "given the influx of language minority students, the context of teaching is changing" (p. 14). To meet this challenge, the report continues, "teacher training must produce professionals who not only are competent but who also can create optimal learning environments for language minority students" (p. 14). The report also points out that the knowledge and abilities for teaching LEP students are not just for "bilingual" teachers, but rather should be a part of every teacher's abilities. A Development Associates survey of Title VII teachers (Hopstock et al., 1993, vol. II) reports that high school teachers who teach LEP students have received training in the following topics:

Effective practices in instructing LEP students	52.4%
Awareness of cultural differences and implications for instruction of LEP students	66.1%
Teaching English to LEP students	42.9%
Language acquisition theory and its implications for instruction of LEP students	29.5%
Teaching science to LEP students	12.2%
Teaching native language arts to LEP students	13.7%
Teaching mathematics to LEP students	6.7%

INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES

No more muddled section of this study exists than the short discussion on instructional practices. Instead of identifying and discussing the various instructional methodologies generally associated with secondary LEP education, the report offers a thinly veiled endorsement of primary language instruction—though without definition—and reviews the Illinois state law mandating such. The first sentence of this section reads as follows: "Generally, course offerings at bilingual high schools vary according to the availability of bilingual teachers" (p. 14). What is a "bilingual" high school? What is the definition of a "bilingual" teacher at the secondary level? The implied assumption seems to be that "bilingual" instruction is the preferred mode of instructing secondary school students and that the attempt to provide this influences program planning at this level.

From there the authors provide a sweeping one-sentence summation of those methods which assist students in the development of English. "These (approaches) include focusing on key concepts, using more visual and hands-on experiences, and encouraging students to use their native languages and providing native language materials for them, even though the classroom teacher may not understand the language" (p. 14). From there, it just gets cloudier. While completely avoiding the issue of effectiveness or outcomes, the study instead defines (and very poorly) the following terms: ESL, sheltered content teaching, cooperative learning, tutoring, team teaching, active learning, interactive methodologies, and computer assisted instruction. It is completely unclear whether the teaching methods just named were used as criteria in the evaluation of the case studies schools or how they relate to the other sections of the report.

CONCLUSIONS FROM FIVE CASE STUDIES PROJECTS

This section of the report covers fifty-two pages and provides extensive—though sometimes vague—information on the five sites visited. The fieldwork was conducted over the course of two or three days of interviews and classroom observations. Data were collected on program features, program implementation, community, district and school demographics, students ethnicity and languages, and teacher training and parent involvement activities. Interestingly, the authors of the study take the opportunity in this section to issue a disclaimer as to rendering a judgment on the effectiveness of what they studied. "It was not part of the scope of work under this contract to establish the superiority of any method over the others," the study reads. "Rather, the study provides examples of a variety of approaches that have worked under a variety of circumstances" (p. 18). The study then invokes an evaluation by BW

Associates (1992), which found that it was impossible to identify a best approach because:

- The comparable student-outcome data needed to judge one programmatic approach versus others did not exist (in California);
- All but exemplary schools probably fail to implement their programs fully, regardless of the LEP programmatic approach that they adopt;
- The same programmatic approach is implemented in different ways at different schools, so that there is much variation in practice for the same approach; and
- Circumstances vary greatly from school to school and district to district, making meaningful comparisons across programmatic approaches impossible.

It should be noted that early on in the report the authors listed as one of their objectives the identification of "successful strategies that are being used to deliver services to the rapidly growing numbers of LEP youth who have differing cultural and linguistic background needs" (p. 4). Moreover, in the executive summary that precedes the study, the authors state that "These case studies provide a view of 'best practices' that work in these districts" (p. iii). As in other studies that involve issues of methodological efficacy, it seems easier to describe than to evaluate them. Given these five so-called "exemplary" programs it seems as though the study ignored the opportunity to report on the outcomes of these programs. Instead, what follows is an extended section that at times reads like a Title VII grant application. On the plus side, the case studies provide an interesting description of several different projects. For administrators and educators, the "Lessons Learned" sections provide several important considerations for any school or district interested in reconfiguring their current secondary school LEP program.

Taking the case studies projects in their totality, at least three commonalities emerge from the information presented in this study:

1. Title VII services were targeted for a specific segment of the LEP population, instead of trying to be all things to all students. By specializing services, it appears as though these projects were able to maximize impact in the relatively short amount of time they have these students;
2. Coordinating services among various agencies and providers enhanced the usefulness of Title VII funds. The degree to which Title VII funds and services were woven into other school and district funds, programs and services seemed to correlate with efficiency and impact;

3. Training for both language and content teachers was essential. Moving the discussion of teaching LEP students to a school-wide issue served to bring a wider range of teachers into the professional development component. For all projects featured here, the development of staff capacity was established as a priority.

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Based upon the literature review, the examination of 100 Title VII grants, and the five case studies, the report concludes with a brief review of findings that is largely a re-hash of the case studies schools report. Included here are tributes to their use of resources, the building of staff capacity to address LEP students' needs, and the utilization of instructional strategies that blended English acquisition with content course mastery. To enhance the capacity of schools to meet the needs of the secondary school LEP population the report suggests—in no particular order—that several areas are in need of improvement and refinement.

1. Information on the wide range of issues that secondary LEP students present to educators needs to be disseminated. This would include information on the wide disparity between students' educational backgrounds and their language needs, as well as on effective strategies to employ. The study calls on OBEMLA to find ways to disseminate research on secondary LEP students to all high schools across the nation that now or in the near future will need to serve LEP students. The authors urge OBEMLA to ensure that this information is available to small, rural schools and districts in addition to those larger schools and districts that sometimes have more resources to meet the educational needs of this group of students.
2. The methods and protocols used by Title VII projects to report information on their students and the strategies and approaches employed need to be improved. Printed materials from grantees, the report says, could be a key source of information for educators and researchers. However, the current method of presenting information makes its organization and use difficult. The report emphasizes that "a greater understanding of who is served and what is provided by Title VII needs to be captured."
3. More attention needs to be given to secondary school LEP students' needs. "We found that very little attention has been given the secondary school LEP students even though this grade level presents the greatest challenges," the authors write. "Secondary school LEP students may be greatest at risk in not meeting new educational standards" (p. 73).

CONCLUSIONS

There is perhaps no other group of students who can challenge a school's instructional program as can LEP students in grades 7–12. Their varied levels of prior education, native language and English proficiency, and the social issues that affect their lives make for a complex tapestry. Moreover, in many cases these students are expected to adapt rapidly to a high school system that is usually hectic, highly structured and generally impersonal. These obstacles notwithstanding, schools and districts across the country are crafting various approaches to educating these students, some of which are reviewed in this study. While the Title VII projects cited here have been effective in designing programs that meet their students' needs it is clear that any conclusions based upon the existing research on this student population are problematic. First, if secondary schools are going to design programs for LEP students they need to know what "programs" are available. Second, and perhaps most important, they need to have data that reasonably and accurately demonstrates the outcomes of a particular program design. This study gives us some program ideas, but unfortunately it passes on the opportunity to report in a logical and comparative way the data collected from their exemplary schools. Like tabloid reports of "Big Foot" and soft focus photographs of the Loch Ness Monster, this study only illuminates the mystery. What we need are answers.

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IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCES: TWO APPROACHES TO EDUCATING LEP STUDENTS

Barbara Mujica, Ph.D.

Two recent studies of the effectiveness of educational programs for limited-English-proficient (LEP) students reflect radically different perspectives. In spite of its title, Stephen Krashen's *Under Attack: The Case against Bilingual Education* (1996) is an impassioned defense of bilingual education in general and of native-language instruction in particular. In contrast, *Bilingual Education in Massachusetts: The Emperor Has No Clothes* (1996), by Christine H. Rossell and Keith Baker, is an investigative study that recommends that native tongue instruction be kept to a minimum and used only with students who know absolutely no English.

STEPHEN KRASHEN'S *UNDER ATTACK: THE CASE AGAINST BILINGUAL EDUCATION*

Krashen's slim tome (only 104 pages, 31 of which comprise an Appendix containing critiques of studies of bilingual education and an Index) is more a rehash of conventional arguments for native language instruction than a presentation of new research. For Krashen, native language instruction is the fundamental component of bilingual education. Therefore, he favors programs that keep children in native language classes as long as possible, even after they are fluent in English. Krashen starts from two widely disputed premises:

1. that obtaining knowledge in their primary language makes children more receptive to English; in other words, the more knowledge children gain in their first language, the better they will learn English; and,
2. that literacy transfers across languages.

Thus, once children have learned to read in their native language, they will be able to learn to read more easily in a second language. He further argues that children who are able to use language to solve problems in their native tongue will be able to transfer that skill to another tongue.

Building on these premises, Krashen theorizes that good bilingual programs must contain three elements:

1. an English-language component provided in the form of ESL (English as a Second Language) or sheltered subject matter classes (those in which subjects such as Social Studies or Science are presented in English, but in a linguistically controlled environment that ensures student comprehension);
2. subject matter presented exclusively in the children's native language; and,
3. literacy development in the first language.

He also recommends that once children have attained fluency in English, they continue developing competence in their first language in order to achieve a "healthy sense of biculturalism" (p. 5).

In order to illustrate his proposition, he draws an analogy between an American arriving in Paris and a foreign student learning English. The American who receives ample cultural information about Paris in English before he leaves will be able to navigate around the city more easily than one who doesn't. From this example Krashen jumps to the conclusion that the student who receives ample subject matter instruction in his own language will be able to learn English more easily. This is a flimsy argument because there is a huge difference between cultural information and linguistic skill. Furthermore, the American in Paris will have to apply the newly learned information to practical situations immediately and constantly. The child who is taught for years in his native language will not have the opportunity to use her developing English skills as frequently as if she were in an English-speaking environment (a structured immersion program or a regular classroom), or if she were in contact with native English-speaking children during most of the school day. Krashen argues that children in bilingual programs are indeed getting comprehensible input in English, and that may be the case in some of the best programs. However, one of the major complaints against bilingual education is that children are not getting enough exposure to English.

The bilingual education plan that Krashen views as ideal takes years to complete. In the beginning stage of English-language learning, children are taught their core subjects in their native language; they are taught English in special ESL classes, but are mainstreamed (placed in regular classes) for Art, Music and Physical Education in order to avoid segregating them entirely from the rest of the student body. At the intermediate level, they are taught Language Arts and Social Studies in their native language, English in ESL classes, and Math and Science in Sheltered English (structured immersion) classes; they are still mainstreamed for Art, Music, and Physical Education. At the advanced level, they continue developing reading and writing skills in their native language and learn English in ESL classes; they study Social Studies, and Language Arts in Sheltered classes. Finally, at the fourth stage, they are mainstreamed, but continue to learn their native languages in special language maintenance classes. Ideally, this gradual exit program would produce fully bilingual youngsters, capable of functioning perfectly in both languages.

One of the major flaws is obvious from Krashen's own discussion of the "early exit problem." Citing Cummins's 17-year-old study, Krashen argues that children must not be moved up to the next stage until they are ready, which means that they may spend more than one year at any level. He believes that even after they have achieved conversational fluency in English, children must be kept in native language classes until they achieve "academic language ability" (literacy and background knowledge that will enable them to function in a regular class) (p. 10). However, this may never occur for, as Rossell and Baker show, the testing methods routinely used to place LEP children in different programs make it impossible for some children ever to exit native language classes. Because children are scored on a bell curve, a certain number of students will always fall at the bottom of the spectrum. That is, if all those who score below, say, the 35th percentile are placed in native language classes, students who repeatedly score at the bottom of the spectrum will always remain in such classes. In fact, as Rossell and Baker show, according to these tests, even a number of American-born, monolingual, English-speaking children will never appear to be competent enough in "academic language" to function in a regular classroom because a certain number will always fall below the 35th percentile.

Although it seems nonsensical to assume that children already fluent in English will become more sophisticated in that language by receiving instruction in another language, Krashen argues that the more prepared children are in their native tongue, the more easily they will learn "academic" English. For Krashen, a main objective of bilingual education is development and maintenance of the child's first language. He not only argues to keep children in native language classes after they are fluent in English, but notes that by continuing in language maintenance even after they are mainstreamed, *"children never need to exit the bilingual program"* at all (p. 11). Krashen clearly sees this as a plus, even though bilingual education was initially conceived as a means of helping LEP children to mainstream as quickly as possible, not as a means of permanently isolating them into language groups.

Naturally, Krashen recognizes that when teachers are not available in a particular language, or when the foreign population of school speaks many different languages, a distinct model must be adopted. (In fact, the only language for which there are large numbers of teachers and clusters of students routinely large enough to fill entire classes is Spanish.) In these cases, students may be placed in ESL pull-out programs in which they attend regular classes but are pulled out for special instruction in English, or else they may attend structured immersion classes, which allow for an English-speaking teacher to instruct children of different linguistic backgrounds. However, even in these situations, Krashen encourages teachers to use the child's native language if they know it, or else, to take advantage of aides fluent in the language. Of course, it seems logical that if a child is struggling to communicate, a wise and humane teacher will help her over the hurdle by allowing her to speak a few sentences in her native language, provided the teacher or an aide understands it. On the other hand, conversing for extended periods with a segment of the class in a language other than English may produce the adverse effect of segregating certain children from the rest of the group, or else it may lead certain children to develop a crutch that will retard their learning English.

More problematical still is Krashen's insistence that educators encourage parents to use the first language at home. Parents most certainly have every right to speak their native language at home, but if they choose not to, that must also be their privilege. People leave their native countries for many reasons, sometimes in traumatic circumstances. Some parents may have definite reasons for wanting to break with the past. For educators to presume to tell parents what language to speak in their homes would be an intolerable intrusion.

Opponents of bilingual education often point out that success in this country is quite possible without special language programs.. Over the decades, millions of newcomers have come to the United States and moved up the socioeconomic ladder without the benefits of such programs. However, Krashen argues, these people often did receive *de facto* bilingual education because they immigrated later on in their academic careers and therefore, had already received a great deal of subject matter instruction in their native languages. Having achieved literacy in their mother tongues, it was easier for them to acquire English. Rossell and Baker counter this contention by pointing out that many other factors must be taken into account when examining the language acquisition of foreigners who immigrate to the United States as adolescents or young adults. They cite studies showing that the most significant of these factors is age; people in this age group tend to learn a second language faster than others whether or not they were educated in their own countries. Other factors are motivation, intelligence, access to learning materials, and so on. However, even without these studies, much of Krashen's argument seems farfetched. The three people he cites—from Hong Kong, Korea, and Vietnam—

probably did not study the American Civil War or Faulkner in their schools abroad. Although their knowledge of math and science might have helped them in the U.S. educational system, it is unlikely that much of the other subject matter transferred. Furthermore, one of the three was already competent in English, having studied for six years in British schools in Hong Kong.

Krashen also considers the case of children who come to the U.S. very young or were born in this country, yet do not speak English at the time they enter kindergarten. Some, he admits, succeed very well without bilingual education. However, once again, he argues that these children do receive *de facto* bilingual education because they live in an English-speaking environment. With regard to Richard Rodriguez, a successful author whose autobiography *Hunger of Memory* recounts how he learned English in elementary school without the help of any special program, Krashen comments that "it is likely that he received a considerable amount of comprehensible input from his classmates and friends." That, of course, is exactly the point that opponents of bilingual education make. Rodriguez was in class primarily with English-speakers. By exposing children as much as possible to English, both in the classroom and in the schoolyard, we increase their opportunity to learn the language well. By isolating them in native language classes year after year, we isolate them and create linguistic ghettos within the school.

The crux of Krashen's argument is the facilitation theory, the principal proponent of which is Jim Cummins. In 1978 Cummins proposed a theoretical model based on the "threshold" hypothesis, according to which an LEP child must reach a certain threshold of linguistic competence in his native language in order to transfer to English without suffering cognitive disadvantages, and the "developmental interdependence hypothesis," according to which reading skills acquired in a child's first language facilitate her learning to read in a second. Krashen argues at length that literacy transfers across languages and cites numerous studies to prove that if children learn to read in one language, they can read in another. He points out that the underlying process of reading is the same for all languages, even those with vastly different alphabets, and the process of development of literacy is the same for different languages. He sums up his position by saying, "Once you can read, you can read." Although much of the research he cites is fifteen or twenty years, old, the data is convincing. It seems likely that once children grasp the concept that a series of written signs represents a word, they can apply this concept in a variety of situations.

The question is, once they are conversant in English, why spend time teaching this skill in the native language? Given the fact that the school day consists of a limited number of periods, and polls show that parents of LEP children say that their first priority is for their children to learn English, why not employ the most efficient means of achieving that goal? Even if it is true that reading skills transfer from one language to another (a theory that many studies dispute), why spend hours and hours of classroom time developing these skills in the native language when, once children know some English, it is more productive to teach them directly in that language? For Krashen, the answer is clearly that teaching the primary language is in itself a goal. However, this goal is usually achievable only in Spanish because it is only for Spanish that large numbers of teachers are available and students exist in sufficient numbers to fill separate classes.

In recent years a number of studies have shown that children subjected to prolonged native-language instruction qualify for mainstreaming at a much lower rate than those who are not. *Educational progress of students in bilingual and ESL Programs: A Longitudinal Study,* published by the New York City Board of Education in 1994, provides evidence that, in New York, most students in bilingual education classes do not become sufficiently fluent in English after three years to be mainstreamed, while children in ESL classes fare much better. Particularly interesting is the break-down by language group. The statistics show significant disparity between exit rates. For example, while well over 80 percent of Korean-, Chinese*- or Russian-speaking students qualify for mainstreaming after three years, less than 60 percent of Spanish- or Haitian Creole-speaking students do so. Indeed, 91.8 percent of the Korean-speaking children exited special LEP programs after three years, while only 50.6 percent of the Spanish-speaking children did. Significantly, Spanish- and Haitian Creole-speaking children were usually placed in bilingual programs, while Korean-, Chinese- and Russian-speaking children were usually placed in ESL programs.

In addition to this report, Krashen considers another done in Los Angeles showing that only between 3.1 percent and 15 percent of students in bilingual education programs were able to transfer into regular classes. In addition, records from Denver indicate that over a two-year period, 40 percent of students tested made no progress on an English proficiency test. In 1994–95, just 4.9 percent of LEP students qualified for mainstreaming. As a result, the district has determined to move non-English speakers into Sheltered English classes more rapidly ("Saving a Bilingual Program").

However, Krashen dismisses findings from studies that contradict his premise on the grounds that they do not take into consideration the socio-economic level of the students involved. He quotes Luis Reyes, a member of the New

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*Mandarin or Cantonese.

York City Board of Education, who insists that the discrepancy between the exit rates of Hispanic or Haitian students and those of students of Korean, Chinese or Russian background is due to "external factors" rather than teaching methods. He concludes that it is likely that "Reyes is correct: Russian, Korean and Chinese speakers came from more affluent homes" (p. 37). This may or may not be true; Krashen offers no evidence at all to support his claim.

Furthermore, he fails to take into consideration the success of approaches such as the one adopted by the English Acquisition Program in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The district's superintendent, Thomas J. Doluisio, was concerned about the length of time it took students in bilingual programs to qualify for mainstreaming and about the high drop-out rate of Hispanic students, which did not appear to improve despite their participation in bilingual programs. Consequently, he proposed switching to a plan that would focus on the development of English proficiency. The English Acquisition Program, initiated in 1993, includes approximately 1,300 students, 86 percent of whom come from Spanish-speaking homes that are economically disadvantaged. Although it is too early to conduct a large-scale study of the type done by New York City Schools, the results so far have been promising.

Likewise, "bilingual immersion," which is actually English language immersion, used in El Paso, Texas, has produced excellent results. As in Bethlehem, in El Paso the LEP population consists mostly of disadvantaged Hispanic children who are taught in English from the first day of the first grade. Gersten concludes that this system "leads to more rapid, successful, and increased integration of Latino students into the mainstream, with no detrimental effects in any area of achievement" (Gersten, iii). Yet Krashen ignores this evidence of the effectiveness of structured immersion programs with economically disadvantaged Hispanics.

Instead, he expends a great deal of energy arguing that SES (socio-economic status) does indeed affect student success. He argues that children from higher SES families learn academic English more rapidly than disadvantaged children because they receive a better education in their primary language, have parents that are more educated and better able to assist them with their school work, live in a print-rich environment, have better access to libraries, have a quiet area in which to study, and are generally healthier, since they are more likely to have a good diet. No one, I think, would argue with these conclusions. Not only LEP students, but all students, tend to do better when they have parents who are willing and able to help them and can provide the tools they need to succeed. More affluent families are better equipped to supply the intellectual and material supports that enable youngsters to move ahead. But there is no evidence that this must be done in one language or another. The data that Krashen provides does not support his conclusion that "our bilingual programs are on the right track when they provide literacy and subject matter knowledge in the primary language. In doing this, they replicate those aspects of the high SES child's home environment that are helpful for school" (p. 39). Indeed, far more important than high SES may be the family's expectations, the importance that the parents attach to education whether or not they are educated themselves, and the child's own motivation. Our history is replete with examples of poor immigrants—Italians, Jews, Chinese—who succeeded in spite of low SES and language barriers.

In spite of the contradictory data regarding attitudes toward bilingual education, Krashen concludes that the public is, in fact, overwhelmingly in favor of native-language instruction. He rejects conclusions by Porter, Chavez, Snipper, and other researchers based on evidence that parents of LEP children, including Hispanic parents, oppose teaching children in their native languages. Krashen bases his opinion on the wording of surveys that imply that the more native language instruction children receive, the less English instruction they will receive. However, as Rossell and Baker show, this is exactly the case. Parents must understand that, since there are a finite number of hours in the school day, native language instruction involves a trade-off. Many parents, not just those of LEP children, would like their children to be perfectly bilingual, but when more hours are devoted to instruction in, say, Chinese or Spanish, fewer can be devoted to math, science, social studies, or English. Rossell and Baker present evidence that when parents are asked to identify areas in the school curriculum that might be eliminated so that more native-language instruction could be included, they are loath to do so.

Krashen argues that the press is biased against bilingual education, but he fails to provide documentation to back up his argument. Furthermore, he does not recognize that the very term "bilingual education" is loaded. For one thing, many different kinds of teaching methods, including some that provide little or no native-language instruction, are categorized as "bilingual." Indeed, some of the success attributed to "bilingual education" results from the fact that programs that do not use native language instruction at all are able to quickly mainstream LEP students. For example, Krashen lauds the El Paso program, calling it a successful example of bilingual education, without taking into consideration that bilingual immersion as practiced in El Paso is actually structured immersion; children are taught almost exclusively in English. As Rossell and Baker point out, some school districts use the word "bilingual" to describe their programs because state law mandates bilingual education and provides funding for it.

Another issue that Krashen avoids is the confusion generated among nonspecialists by the term "bilingual education." "If you ask people if they support the development of the first language at the expense of English and school success, nearly all will say 'no,'" writes Krashen. "But if you ask them if they support bilingual education, a surprising number will say that they do" (p. 49). However, as Rossell and Baker show, most people don't know what bilingual education is. They assume that it is truly bilingual, with as much time allotted to English as the student's native language. If we ask parents—those of English-speaking children as well as those of LEP students—if they would like their children to be perfectly bilingual, many will say yes. Who wouldn't? However, as Krashen himself demonstrates, bilingual education often provides less than an hour of English instruction a day. My own limited surveys of public opinion on bilingual education reveal that most people who say they favor it change their minds when they realize that it often entails mostly native-language instruction. Although Krashen attributes opposition to prolonged instruction in the mother tongue to those with "xenophobic and racist points of view" (p. 49), this is a complex issue that cannot be resolved merely with name-calling.

With or without bilingual education, a large number of LEP children learn English. Krashen cites studies done between 1970 and 1994 to show that English is the dominant language for many first or second generation immigrants of Mexican, Cuban or Puerto Rican background. For example, according to a 1975 study of Mexican-Americans living in Austin, 89 percent of the children in grades 1–3 used English informally, while only 1 percent used Spanish. According to a 1982 survey of Cuban-American high-school students between 14 and 18 years old, 80 percent of whom were born in Cuba and came to the U.S. before age 10, 25 percent preferred to speak English and 42 percent were equally comfortable in both Spanish and English. A 1984 survey of Chicano families in San Antonio, most of whose members were born in the U.S., shows that about 74 percent of the children speak to their parents in English. A 1992 survey of Cuban-American high school seniors shows that only 18 percent are Spanish dominant. In spite of the data showing that many Hispanic children use English socially and even at home, Krashen favors maintaining instruction in Spanish as long as possible because "language use may or may not be an accurate reflection of proficiency" (p. 55). "Just because a child has some English competence," he writes, "does not mean he or she is ready to do the entire program in English" (p. 47). His reason is that "acquisition of conversational English...does not necessarily entail the acquisition of academic English" (p. 51). No one would argue, I think, that many of these children, although fluent in English, may need special attention to improve their skills. However, Rossell and Baker show that continuing to teach them in Spanish after they know some English hampers rather than develops their acquisition of English.

Krashen concludes that because opposition to bilingual education has become so intense, it is necessary to inoculate it from attack. In order to do this, he argues, educators must convince the public that bilingual education is in fact succeeding. Since, he believes, it is imperative that LEP children learn to read in their native languages in order to learn to read in English, he suggests that schools, libraries and families provide more books in those languages. He includes data to prove that the families of most LEP children do not own many books in their native tongues, and libraries and schools are painfully lacking in reading materials in languages other than English. Although he notes that young LEP children are often drawn towards English-language books rather than toward books in their mother tongues, even when these are available, he insists that stocking schools and libraries with books in Spanish, Cantonese or Vietnamese will go a long way toward improving these children's literacy. Certainly, there is nothing wrong with educational institutions providing reading materials in languages other than English, assuming they have ample funds to provide English-language materials as well. Doing so would benefit not only LEP students but also non-LEP youngsters studying a foreign language or simply interested in browsing through foreign texts. However, placing the books on the library shelf is no guarantee that students will use them. Krashen does not deal with problems of low motivation, lack of leisure time to read or the tendency of youngsters to want to conform to the majority culture.

ROSSELL AND BAKER'S *BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN MASSACHUSETTS: THE EMPEROR HAS NO CLOTHES*

While Krashen starts from the premise that native-language development and maintenance are desirable in all cases, Rossell and Baker do not approach the data with a preconceived position. Instead, they examine the different types of instruction available to LEP children in one state, Massachusetts, and draw certain conclusions based on their findings. The civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s motivated politicians to focus on educational practices that could be considered discriminatory. The wide gap between Hispanics and non-Hispanics in achievement tests was interpreted by some as an indication that Hispanics suffered from linguistic discrimination in school because they were regularly placed in classes with English-speaking non-Hispanics. The Bilingual Education Act of 1968, also known as Title VII, addressed the needs of language minority students, and Hispanic advocates rallied around the principle of bilingual education. The first state to enact its own legislation in this area was Massachusetts, which in 1971 passed Chapter 71A, the Transitional

Bilingual Education Act, requiring native-language instruction for LEP children. Massachusetts is an appropriate example for Rossell and Baker to study because transitional bilingual education (TBE) has been in place there for over twenty-five years, although almost no data on the effectiveness of the program is available.

Massachusetts is one of only nine states to require transitional bilingual education (TBE) in all school districts in which there are a certain number of LEP students. Only twenty LEP students in a single language group in a school district—an average of fewer than two in each grade—prompts native-language instruction in a separate classroom taught by a bilingual certified teacher. Chapter 71A specified that TBE programs be full-time, that all courses and subjects be presented in the native language as well as in English, that children be taught to read and write in their native language as well as in English, and that they be taught the history and culture of their native countries. However, Rossell and Baker note that observations of actual classroom practice of programs designated "bilingual" show that instructors use a variety of methods to teach LEP students. Although the state decrees that LEP students receive native-language instruction, only Spanish-speaking elementary school students actually do, and even this group does not receive it consistently. What allows districts to comply with the law in the case of Spanish-speaking LEP students even some of the time is the large size of the Spanish-speaking population, which makes it possible to fill entire classes with Spanish-speaking children, and the availability of Spanish-speaking teachers. LEP students who speak other foreign languages are almost always placed in structured immersion classes or regular classes with ESL pull-out, although "for political, legal or funding reasons they may be called TBE" (p. 8). Thus, non-Hispanic LEP students receive instruction almost exclusively in English. Indeed, much of the evidence for the success of bilingual education is gleaned from positive results produced by classes that are not bilingual at all, but rather structured English immersion. However, rather than a cause for complaint, the flexible implementation of TBE in Massachusetts has, in the opinion of Rossell and Baker, "kept the law from collapsing under its own weight" (p. 2).

Rossell and Baker call the variety of programs for LEP students in Massachusetts a "well-kept secret" (p. 7). Implementation of the Massachusetts bilingual education law has been spotty mainly because this law is incompatible with the state's fiscal realities. No school district with only twenty LEP students of one language group could afford to provide self-contained classes for their instruction; such classes would be minuscule.

Another issue is instructors' qualifications. TBE teachers need not meet the general certification requirement; while they must be able to speak and read the non-English language they are teaching, they must demonstrate only communicative skills in English. Teachers who are not comfortable in English tend to teach in the children's native tongue as much as possible. However, these teachers are required to provide English instruction as well, so sometimes LEP students are forced to study the language with a teacher whose own English is deficient.

Because there are so many variables involved— the language skill of teachers, the availability of written materials in the native language, the size of the language minority population, parental support for the program, the children's home environment, etc.—sophisticated techniques must be used to evaluate TBE. At the moment, there is still little valid data available by which to assess the efficiency of bilingual education. However, since both the high school graduation rate and achievement scores for Hispanics in Massachusetts continue to be much lower than for white non-Hispanics, there is cause for concern. TBE must be reexamined. Rossell and Baker point out that in spite of widespread acceptance of TBE by policy makers, we still don't really know how effective it is. They cite numerous studies, some of them by avid supporters of bilingual education, that throw into question the effectiveness of long-term native-language instruction, but arrive at no definite conclusions.

In order to assess more accurately the soundness of bilingual education, they read more than 500 books and reviews, of which 300 were program evaluations. After analyzing data from these 300 program evaluations, Rossell and Baker found that only 72 conformed to the standards of scientific study. Studies that conformed to a methodologically sound research design analyzed the test data for students randomly assigned to "treatment" and control groups. In the case that this was not done, they matched students in the treatment and comparison groups on factors that influence achievement (age, socio-economic status, ethnicity, student motivation, parental support, cognitive ability, place of birth, etc.) or else statistically controlled for these factors. In addition, methodologically sound studies had the following characteristics: they measured outcome in English using normal curve equivalents, raw scores, percentiles, etc.; they omitted subjects who had received additional educational interventions (tutoring, etc.); and they applied appropriate statistical tests. After reviewing the results of these studies, Rossell and Baker found "no consistent research support for transitional bilingual education as a superior instructional practice for improving the English language achievement of LEP children" (p. 49).

A traditional argument for native-language instruction is that it allows children to learn the concepts in subject areas such as math while they learn English. However, Rossell and Baker found that "in developing math proficiency, TBE fared no better when compared to submersion [no special help at all] or to regular classroom instruction with ESL pullout" (p. 50). According to their research, the facilitation theory supported by Krashen does not hold true, while the time-on-task principle, which maintains that the amount of time spent learning a subject is the greatest predicator of achievement in that subject, does. In other words, children who spend more time learning English and learning subject matter in English will become more proficient in speaking, reading and writing English. However, Rossell and Baker stress that in order for instruction in English to be successful, *effective* learning must take place. That is, children must comprehend what is going on in the classroom. Submersion, in which LEP children are simply placed in regular classes, is unproductive, at least at first, because a child who knows no English will not be able to follow the lesson. However, as children become more competent in English, "the greater time spent on English in the submersion situation would give [them] an advantage during this later time period" (p. 61). Rossell and Baker note that studies by Ramirez et al. (1991) and Burkheimer et al. (1989) suggest that, contrary to Krashen's belief, "the threshold theory may work in reverse of Cummins's hypothesis. It seems more likely that a threshold in the second language, not the native language, needs to be passed before the second language instruction is consistently superior to native language instruction" (p. 65). The research of Rossell and Baker lead them to favor structured immersion, with rapid transition into regular classes. They point out that there is no evidence that language skills in the mother tongue are relevant to developing literacy in English.

The educational policies now in place, including Chapter 71A, assume that TBE produces greater English language achievement and content area mastery than simply doing nothing, but the research does not support this view. TBE does improve students' facility with Spanish, but as Rossell and Baker point out, this "is not the goal of government policy nor the stated objective of court decisions that have supported TBE" (p. 52).

The issue of the effectiveness of TBE has been muddled by the multiplicity of treatments categorized as bilingual education. As part of their research, Rossell and Baker observed more than 75 classrooms at all grade levels in nine language groups. In addition, they talked with TBE and ESL teachers, program directors, administrators, and state department employees, and they analyzed the results of a survey of the 51 TBE school districts conducted by the Massachusetts Executive Office of Education in the spring of 1993. Their aim was to identify factors that seem to determine how closely each program followed the model mandated by state legislation. They found considerable variation among the different language groups with regard to political pressure applied by activists to use native language instruction, the availability of teachers and materials, and size, which affects districts' ability to fill a classroom with children who speak the same language.

Their conclusion is that the "actual implementation of transitional bilingual education is...far afield from the theory, from the law, and from the regulations" (p. 101). What they observed is that "only Spanish speakers receive native tongue instruction, and even they do not always receive it to the extent that the law and the theory demand" (p. 102). Teachers in programs for Hispanics were more likely to believe in the value of native language instruction, either because they had been taught the facilitation theory in graduate school, because of their desire to adhere to guidelines provided by administrators, or because to do so was a matter of cultural pride. The non-Spanish TBE teachers taught completely in English. Many were aware that they were breaking the law, but they tended to feel that their job was to teach the children as much English as possible so that they would be able to transfer successfully into regular classes, and believed that the best way to do this was by teaching them exclusively in English. Many of these teachers—even those who were native speakers of Japanese, Vietnamese, or other languages other than Spanish—expressed no desire to teach in the mother tongue. They felt that their job was to help their students become fluent in English, not to maintain the first language. Typically, there were few materials in the mother tongue available in their classrooms.

These observations have led Rossell and Baker to the conclusion that the theory and the law are simply unrealistic, given the fiscal and pedagogical constraints on the educational system. Even if there were enough bilingual teachers of students in all the language groups represented in the program, taxpayers would be unlikely to support funding for the creation of textbooks and other teaching materials in little-spoken dialects or in languages that, until one was invented for the purposes of bilingual education, had no written form. More important, many teachers are themselves opposed to teaching in the native language. In the case of languages that do not use the Roman alphabet, it would take years to develop literacy in the first language, and teachers feel that this time would be better spent developing the children's skills in English.

Two other issues considered by Rossell and Baker are the identification of children as eligible for the program and the assessment of the progress of LEP students. The law, the authors contend, has avoided the issue. Children with the "inability to speak English" are supposed to be offered programs that will allow them "to achieve competence in the English language," but the meanings of these phrases are never clarified. When children register for school, a home language survey is administered in writing or through interviews. The survey asks for information on the language used in the home and by the child with family members and friends. In addition, information is gathered through oral assessments made of the child and tests. Sometimes teachers, counselors or parents make referrals.

Rossell and Baker found all these instruments to be highly fallible. Typically, home language surveys ask if *someone* in the home speaks a foreign language. Even if a grandmother or some other person speaks a language other than English, the child is classified as potentially LEP. That is, the interpretation of these surveys focuses on language use in the home rather than the child's knowledge of English. The result is a tendency to over-identify students as LEP.

Standardized achievement tests display the same bias. As explained earlier, these tests are scored on a bell curve; that is, they are designed so that 35 percent of those taking the test will score at or below the 35th percentile. Therefore, some students will always score at or below the cut-off mark, whether or not they know English. The reasons for a low score may be socio-economic, low intelligence, difficulties in taking tests, nervousness, and so on. Lack of English skills is not the only explanation.

Rossell and Baker found language proficiency tests to be equally unreliable. These tests share with standardized achievement tests two flaws:

1. They do not differentiate students who are English-deficient from those who are generally lacking in academic potential;
2. They use arbitrary cut-off scores.

Furthermore, these tests are difficult to interpret not only because there is no agreement on what constitutes language proficiency, but also because different proficiency tests produce markedly different results.

The imperfections in the selection methods make possible the frequent misclassification of students as LEP. That is, Hispanic students who are fluent English-speakers but score low on achievement and proficiency tests will be placed in Spanish-language classes even though their poor performance is not language related. Although there was insufficient data to determine how often misclassification occurs in Massachusetts, Rossell and Baker did examine data from other areas. A study of Title VII projects done in Texas showed that 53 percent of the children in LEP classes were actually English-dominant.

In one study done in California, only half the Hispanic students identified as LEP were more fluent in Spanish than English, and in another, 40 percent of the Hispanic children classified as LEP spoke no Spanish at all. These same kinds of tests are used to determine when students are ready to exit TBE programs; because of the bias inherent in the procedures, many students are never able to exit at all. In fact, some studies show that there is even greater misclassification with the exit testing than with the original placement process. Rossell and Baker found that teacher judgment was a far more accurate indication of whether or not a student would succeed in regular classes than the various surveys and testing programs currently in use. They recommend that the specific limitations of tests be explicitly recognized, or that the tests be eliminated altogether.

One of the main objections to bilingual education is its price tag. Rossell and Baker have done a careful analysis of the cost of various types of programs. According to their findings, the evidence suggests that TBE is more expensive than other self-contained classroom programs such as structured immersion because TBE requires materials in both the students' native language and English, and by law requires smaller classes. Furthermore, TBE requires a separate staff and administrative support, which increases the overall costs of running the school system's bureaucracy. However, TBE may be less expensive than pull-out programs that require two sets of teachers. So far, no completely accurate analysis has been done of all the costs involved in special LEP programs at the state and federal levels. Among the expenses that must be considered are the salaries of classroom aides, fringe benefits for employees, administrative costs, the purchase of books in languages other than English for school libraries, transportation if students must be bused to schools not in their neighborhoods, and the reduced class size for TBE mandated by law. Based on the data currently available, Rossell and Baker conclude that all the programs that fall under the heading "bilingual education" cost between $200 and $1,000 per pupil more than regular education. Although a pull-out program frequently costs less than a self-contained TBE classroom, the cost difference depends on a number of factors, including class size and the use of aides.

With respect to public opinion on bilingual education, Rossell and Baker come to very different conclusions than Krashen. While Krashen insists that survey questions asking whether or not parents support native language teaching at the expense of English are not fair, Rossell and Baker contend that these are the *only* types of fair question. Parents must be told that there is a trade-off, they argue. More hours spent on native-language instruction mean fewer hours spent on English and on other school subjects. Studying Spanish will *not* facilitate learning English; what *will* facilitate English acquisition is more hours spent on task.

In order to conduct an investigation of parents' attitudes toward bilingual education, Rossell and Baker were going to conduct telephone interviews of LEP students who were enrolled in schools in Massachusetts. However, META (Multicultural Education, Training and Advocacy, Inc.), an Hispanic advocacy group, threatened legal action against any school district that cooperated with the survey. Since they were unable to conduct their own poll, Rossell and Baker analyzed surveys conducted by a number of other researchers. They found, as Krashen did, that support for bilingual education (with mandated native-language instruction) varies enormously—from 80 to 1 percent—depending on how the question is asked. Furthermore, they found inconsistencies in parents' responses. For example, in one survey of Mexican-American parents, 70 percent said they wanted their children to become literate in both Spanish and English. However, only 12 percent wanted the schools to teach Spanish if this meant less time for English, and no more than 22 percent were willing to reduce the time spent teaching art or music. Rossell and Baker show that surveys that do not ask the trade-off question overestimate support for bilingual education; while most parents say they favor bilingual education, "when the trade-off question is asked support plummets about 60 points" (p. 163).

Over all, Rossell and Baker found that "bilingual education and native-language instruction are of low salience for adults in general and for language minority parents" (p. 182). When asked to rank the three most important subjects they wanted their children to study at school, only between 4-and 10 percent named the mother tongue, and almost no one mentioned ethnic heritage. Furthermore, nearly 98 percent of the parents of LEP children thought that learning English was very important, and fewer than half, including Mexican-American parents, thought that it was the school's responsibility to teach literacy in the native language. When parents understand that teaching literacy in the first tongue means less time for English, math, or other subjects, including music or art, they show little support for bilingual education. Clearly, mandated native-language instruction conflicts with the goals and desires of the parents of LEP children.

Unlike Krashen, who resorts to disparaging opponents of programs he supports, these researchers attribute the best intentions to those who champion TBE. They dismiss categorically allegations that most bilingual teachers and administrators support TBE because their jobs depend on it. Instead, they describe TBE staff members as competent professionals who believe that what they are doing benefits their students. Rossell and Baker argue that if the advantages of bilingual education have been greatly exaggerated, so has the harm caused by TBE programs. Their research shows that in Massachusetts, at least, most students in native-language instruction do eventually learn English, and if they do not, it is usually because they have learning problems that retard their progress.

That said, Rossell and Baker argue that native-language instruction is *not* a superior technique, and that Massachusetts is unjustified in requiring it. To do so is not only fiscally but also educationally irresponsible, for "whatever benefit there is from being literate in one's native language is offset by the time it takes to acquire that literacy if that is not one's ultimate goal" (p. 187). Indeed, Rossell and Baker imply that Cummins's facilitation theory was little more than a justification for a policy that had been implemented a decade earlier on civil rights grounds. They not only find no evidence that teaching children in their native languages produces better results than other methods, but allege that if one can draw any conclusion at all from the research that exists, it is that native language instruction is at least marginally detrimental to LEP students' overall education and acquisition of English because of the time it takes away from the development of English skills. They point out that since the enactment of the Transitional Bilingual Education Act in 1971, the high school completion rates of Hispanics have fallen relative to other groups, and, in general, bilingual education has not fulfilled the expectations of its supporters.

According to their research, structured immersion is almost always superior to TBE. Like TBE, structured immersion provides a protected environment in a self-contained classroom, but allows children to be taught entirely in English. Rossell and Baker suggest that TBE may be more effective than all-English instruction at the very beginning, when students know no English at all, but as their knowledge of the language increases, time on task in English becomes more beneficial. Several studies show that children in structured immersion classes are able to transfer to regular classes more quickly than those in native language classes.

Rossell and Baker conclude that the Massachusetts statute requiring a full-time TBE program when there are only twenty LEP students of a single language group in a district is totally unrealistic and should be changed. Furthermore, children should stay in bilingual education classes a much shorter time: "It is probably a matter of months before a child can benefit from a regular English classroom" (p. 193). Last of all, policy makers should lower the heat on the bilingual debate and consider the data.

Rossell and Baker end their book with six concrete policy recommendations for changes in the Massachusetts TBE program:

1. Free school districts from the legal obligation to provide native language instruction.
2. Increase the LEP population size needed to trigger a self-contained classroom from 20 in a single language group per *district* to 18 per *school* in a particular *grade*.
3. Require parental consent *before* enrolling children in a self-contained classroom instead of requiring parents to take the initiative to withdraw their children *after* enrollment has been completed.
4. Require English language fluency for teachers in an educational program for LEP children.
5. Change the criteria for entering and exiting a self-contained classroom, making teachers' evaluations, not standardized tests, the decisive factor.
6. Keep class sizes or adult-child ratio small either by reducing the number of students or increasing the number of aides.

In their description of an ideal program for LEP students, Rossell and Baker affirm that the best, most cost-effective method is structured immersion. However, they contend, even if the language of instruction is English, in most cases students should not remain in self-contained, second-language acquisition classrooms for more than a year. Students with particular learning problems other than faulty, non-native English should be identified and moved into appropriate programs that meet their specific needs.

Rossell and Baker contend that much more research must be done in the field of teaching and evaluating LEP students. Indeed, they say that the quality of research in this area is a "national disgrace" (p. 202). However, based on the data that is available, they make the following observations about TBE:

1. Native language instruction should be minimal and used only with students who know no or very little English.
2. In most cases, children can move into all-English classrooms (structured immersion or pullout programs) in a matter of months.
3. Teachers who are familiar with, but not fluent in, the child's native language are better teachers of LEP students than fluent speakers, who often teach too much and too long in the mother tongue to the detriment of English.

With regard to structured immersion they point out that enrollment in self-contained classrooms should last no longer than a year, that students who speak the same language should not be grouped together, and that teachers should not instruct the children in their native language. Although most parents do not put native language maintenance at the top of their list of priorities, Rossell and Baker suggest that in regions in which there is a demand for it, mother tongue instruction could be offered after school as a voluntary enrichment program. This, the researchers point out, is the only kind of native language instruction that the majority of parents of LEP children say that they want.

Rossell and Baker conclude that although many academics argue that bilingual education often fails because teachers do not implement it according to the theory, the opposite is actually true. The theory—that children must be literate in their native language before making the transition to English—is unsubstantiated and invalid. It is the teachers who subvert the system by teaching entirely in English that prevent TBE from becoming "a total disaster" (p. 206). Parents, they believe, must be told of the risks inherent in TBE as mandated by Chapter 71A, and the regulations should be changed. Otherwise, the same situation may arise in Massachusetts as has arisen in Los Angeles, where parents boycotted the Ninth Street school, and New York, where Hispanic parents brought suit against the school district for failing to teach their children English.

CONCLUSIONS

Under Attack and *Bilingual Education in Massachusetts* represent pedagogical philosophies that are diametrically opposed to one another. Krashen starts from the premise that native language instruction is beneficial and desirable and seeks data to bolster his opinion. Even when the research is inconclusive or counters his hypothesis, he maintains his stance, explaining away problematical data. Although Krashen is undoubtedly sincere, much of the theory and research he cites date back to the heyday of the civil rights movement, when policy makers viewed bilingual education as a means of dealing with educational inequities. In view of more recent studies indicating that bilingual education, with its hefty native language component, fails to mainstream LEP children quickly and improve graduation rates and academic achievement for Hispanics, the facilitation theory on which he bases his arguments must be reexamined. However, Krashen seems unwilling to budge from his position or to even consider objective data that is unsupportive. Since he views mother tongue instruction as an unmitigated good, he defends keeping LEP children in native language classrooms as long as possible, even after they have learned English, and favors maintenance programs that most parents say they do not want. Clearly, given Krashen's inflexibility, no compromise is possible between his position and that of Rossell and Baker.

Unlike Krashen, Rossell and Baker do not start from any premise other than the one stated by the law and supported by bilingual advocates: that the object of TBE is to teach LEP students English. In order to determine whether or not TBE is working in Massachusetts, they analyze huge quantities of data, pointing out flaws in the research methodology of some studies, whether or not these studies support TBE. They also point out inconsistencies in the results of the surveys they analyze and do not attempt simply to explain them away. At 242 pages, their book is a far more substantial study than *Under Attack.* Based on their research, Rossell and Baker expose defects in the facilitation theory and come to conclusions that are radically different from Krashen's. Still, the authors do not take an inflexible stance with regard to TBE. They do not argue to eliminate native language instruction completely, but contend that it is most effective when used at the very beginning of the program, with students whose knowledge of English is nil. At no time do they deprecate those who support the opposite view. Finally, they make concrete recommendations for the improvement of programs for LEP children.

Bilingual Education in Massachusetts: The Emperor Has No Clothes is a model study of bilingual education as it is practiced not only in Massachusetts but elsewhere. We can only hope that politicians and educators will read it with an open mind and take the authors' findings to heart.

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HOW IMMIGRANTS FARE IN U.S. EDUCATION[1]

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SUMMARY

A growing number of immigrant children and youths have entered the country over the past twenty-five years. In 1990, there were more than 2.3 million immigrant children and youths in U.S. schools and colleges—about 5 percent of all students.

Many of these children have to overcome poor academic preparation in their country of origin and nearly all have to learn English and new institutional and cultural customs and norms. As a result, there are growing concerns about how these children are performing in U.S. schools and postsecondary institutions and in turn about the new set of demands they are placing upon these institutions. These concerns are exacerbated by the increasing diversity of languages and cultures that these students bring with them and their high concentration in a few areas of the country. About 75 percent of these children are concentrated in California, Florida, Illinois, New York, and Texas. California's educational institutions alone are currently educating more than two out of five of the country's immigrant children and youths.

This study is the first effort to systematically describe and analyze the experience and performance of immigrant children and youths in the U.S. educational system. Two companion studies have explored the new demands these children and youths are placing on U.S. primary and secondary schools and on colleges, respectively, and how those institutions are responding to these demands.[2]

Methods and Limitations

We used data from "High School and Beyond" (HSB), a national representative sample of more than 21,000 10th and 12th graders first interviewed in 1980 and followed over a six-year period through their high school years, gradua-

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tion, and postsecondary education in U.S. colleges. These data were complemented with data from the 1970, 1980, and 1990 U.S. Census of Population and Housing to analyze participation in U.S. education across all age groups and over time.

Throughout this study we compare the participation and performance of immigrant children and youths in U.S. educational institutions to that of their native counterparts overall and within each of the four major racial/ethnic groups: Asian, black, Hispanic, and white.

The HSB data have two major limitations. First, they provide information on immigrant students and natives who began their education before 1980. The number of immigrant children in the nation's schools has doubled since then, and schools' and colleges' ability to absorb them has arguably deteriorated. Hence, today's immigrants may perform differently from those of fifteen years or so ago. Second, HSB findings are restricted to immigrants who were in a U.S. school by the 10th grade. Immigrant youths who entered the U.S. education system after that grade are not included.

Experience in Primary and Secondary Education

Immigrant children and youths are as likely as natives to enroll in U.S. primary and middle schools. However, they are somewhat less likely than natives to attend high school: In 1990, participation rates were 87 percent and 93 percent, respectively. All of this differential is accounted for by immigrant youths of Hispanic origin, primarily from Mexico. In 1990, one of every four immigrants from Mexico in the 15–17 age group was not in school—a rate nearly 20 percent lower than that for any other immigrant group and 17 percent lower than that for natives of Mexican origin.

We present evidence suggesting that the relatively low in-school participation rates of Mexican immigrants of high school age is primarily due to their not "dropping in" to the school system in the first place rather than their "dropping out" of school. By age fifteen, Mexican immigrants have already been out of school in Mexico for two years on average. They do not enroll in U.S. schools either by choice, because of inability to catch up with others their age or their native counterparts, or by economic necessity because they must support themselves and their families.

Conditional on having been enrolled in a U.S. high school by grade 10, immigrant students are more likely than their native counterparts to make choices consistent with eventually pursuing a college education. They are more likely to follow an academic track and take advanced courses in math and sciences. These differences in course-taking patterns hold not only in the aggregate but also within each racial/ethnic group. However, there are variations among immigrants of different racial/ethnic groups just as there are such variations among natives. Asian immigrants generally performed best on indicators of preparation for college, followed by white and black immigrants. Hispanic immigrants performed the lowest on nearly all indicators of college preparation.

Immigrants in U.S. high schools are also more likely to plan to go to college and to report working hard to achieve their expectations. Similarly, the immigrant parents of immigrant children report higher educational expectations for their children than do native parents.

Immigrant children and parents of all racial/ethnic groups studied have higher educational aspirations than their native counterparts. However, this difference in aspirations is three times greater between immigrants and natives of Hispanic origin than it is between immigrants and natives in other groups. This significant decline in the educational aspirations of Hispanics in the United States has also recently been noted by other researchers. Its causes, however, have yet to be thoroughly investigated.

High School Graduation and College Attendance

Whatever difficulties immigrant children and youths might face adjusting to the language, institutional, and cultural norms of this country, their educational attainment has equaled, if not exceeded, that of native children and youths. Immigrant high school sophomores were just as likely as natives to graduate from high school within four years from their sophomore year—with Asians more likely to graduate than whites, blacks, and Hispanics, in that order.

Immigrant high school graduates were also more likely than their native counterparts to enroll in postsecondary education, attend college, and stay continuously through four years of college. Immigrants' higher rates of participation in higher education hold within each racial/ethnic group. But there are differences between immigrants of different racial/ethnic groups that mirror the well-known differences between natives of different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Asian immigrants and natives scored generally the highest on all indicators of college-going and Hispanic immigrants and natives scored consistently the lowest on indicators of college-going with whites and blacks in between. The differences are large. Four of every five Asian high school graduates go on to college, compared to one of every two Hispanic high school graduates.

In multivariate analyses, we found that the individual and family factors associated with college-going were generally the same for immigrants and natives as well as across racial/ethnic groups. High school graduates whose parents have higher income, higher levels of education, and higher educational expectations for their children are more likely to pursue a college education than others. This confirms the importance of family background and family attitudes toward education in determining children's eventual educational attainment. Also, a student's positive attitude toward working hard in school was found to be positively associated with college-going for all groups. All else being equal, immigration status per se was not found to be associated with college-going.

The fact that Hispanics have lower scores than Asians, whites, and blacks on nearly all key family and individual characteristics—income, parental education, and educational aspirations—helps explain their lower educational attainment.

Policy Implications

Our findings suggest that there is no need to develop policies targeted *uniquely* on immigrants. This does not mean, however, that the increasing number of immigrants in U.S. schools does not place new and unique demands upon the educational institutions serving them. Two companion studies (McDonnell and Hill, 1993; Gray and Rolph, 1996) have documented the difficulties that schools and colleges are having meeting the special language and social support needs of immigrants and the resource strains they place on schools' overall operations. The growing presence of immigrants in U.S. educational institutions also raises fundamental questions regarding graduation requirements, most particularly with regard to English proficiency, equity in the allocation of financial aid, and the definition of "disadvantaged" and "underrepresented" students in the face of increased diversity. Until now, these questions have been either ignored or addressed ad hoc, leading to inconsistencies within and across institutions. They should now be addressed.

Beyond that, the continuing large discrepancy in educational attainment between Hispanics and other racial/ethnic groups should be cause for concern. After twenty-five years of continuous and growing immigration, Hispanics are rapidly becoming the largest minority in the United States. Already one out of three high school students in California is of Hispanic origin and this proportion will continue to grow in years to come regardless of whether or not there is continuing immigration. It is not going too far to suggest that the educational attainment Hispanics eventually reach will in large measure determine the quality of the future labor force and the demand for public services in key states of the country.

Enhancing the educational achievements of Hispanics—and other similarly situated students—will require policies that go beyond the classroom. Income assistance and financial assistance can alleviate the income gap between Hispanics and those of other groups. But public funding for these programs is being reduced and at the same time college tuition and fees are going up rapidly. Also, low levels of parental education and low educational expectation of parents and students may not be easily amenable to change. Programs directed at increasing parental involvement in the education of their children and adult education programs including English language instruction, high school equivalency classes, vocational education, and workshops on effective parenting are steps in the right direction. But demand for these programs far exceeds supply.

We also need to understand why the educational expectations of parents and students are declining across generations of immigrants, most particularly Hispanics. This understanding is necessary if strategies are to be developed to effectively address this problem.

Finally, strategies need to be developed to encourage Hispanic immigrant youths aged 14 to 17 to pursue their education in this country. Failure to do so will result in hundreds of thousands of youths without a high school diploma with no prospects for economic mobility over their lifetime.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

The United States is closing the twentieth century the way it began: with a substantial level of immigration that is hastening population growth and reshaping the U.S. ethnic composition. The number of foreign-born people residing in the country has more than quadrupled since Congress liberalized immigration policy in 1965, reaching 22 million in 1994. By 1994, 8.5 percent of the U.S. population was foreign-born, up from 5 percent in 1965.[3] Currently, nearly one million additional persons immigrate every year, accounting for more than 40 percent of the nation's yearly population growth. Whereas yesterday's immigrants came predominantly from Europe, today's immigrants come from all parts of the world, with Asians and Hispanics accounting for more than 80 percent.

Earlier waves of immigrants tended to concentrate on the East Coast, most particularly in New York. Today's immigrants tend to concentrate on the West

Coast, most particularly in California, where nearly two out of every five new immigrants settle. The large metropolitan areas of Florida, Illinois, and Texas also harbor a large concentration of new immigrants. Like their predecessors, today's immigrants are predominantly young, with a majority having received little schooling in their native countries, and many having suffered the traumas of economic deprivation, war, or both.

Although most immigrants enter the country as adults, a sizable proportion enter when they are still of school age. In 1990, more than two million immigrants, 11 percent of the total foreign-born population, were age 17 or below. Many of these children enter U.S. schools and some have to overcome poor academic preparation in their own country. And nearly all of them have to learn English and new institutional and cultural customs and norms. Numerous anecdotal accounts tell of the difficulties these children and youths encounter adjusting to and finding their place in U.S. schools and postsecondary institutions. In turn, concerns have been raised that immigrants in U.S. schools and colleges, with their perceived unique needs, are not given the attention they may require, thereby affecting their educational opportunities as well as their opportunities for eventual success in the U.S. labor market. Since immigrants constitute more than one-fourth of the growth of the national labor force, their preparation for work is of importance for the future of the U.S. economy. At the same time, those who are closest to immigrants in school—the teachers, professors, and administrators in our educational institutions—often describe these youths as highly motivated and eager to integrate successfully into school as well as into the broader American society.

This study is the first comprehensive effort to describe and analyze the experience of immigrant children and youths from all parts of the world in the U.S. education system. It examines the extent to which immigrants of school age actually enroll in U.S. schools and how they fare in this system from middle school, to high school, and eventually to college.

CHAPTER THREE

Participation of Immigrant Children in K–12

Immigrant children may enter the United States at any age. Some enter with their parents while they are still of preschool age and hence have all of their schooling in this country. But most come to the United States after having had some schooling in their country of origin and they may or may not pursue their education in a U.S. school. We might expect that the younger an immigrant is at entry the more likely she/he is to go to school here. But older children, e.g., those 16 or above, may bypass schooling in the United States

Table 3.1
In-School Participation Rates, by Age and Immigration Status, 1980 to 1990

	1980		1990	
Age	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant
United States				
5–7	79	79	74	71
8–11	99	97	96	94
12–14	99	97	97	94
15–17	92	84	93	87
California				
5–7	93	89	86	81
8–11	99	97	96	92
12–14	99	97	97	94
15–17	92	80	94	84

Source: 1980 and 1990 Public Use Sample of the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

altogether, most particularly if they had already left school in their home country or if they are required to work to maintain themselves and their families. These issues are explored in this chapter.[4]

Primary to Middle School

Up to the level of middle school, immigrants are nearly as likely to be enrolled in school as natives in the same age groups. Table 3.1 indicates that in 1990, 94 percent of immigrants in the age 8–11 and age 12–14 groups nationwide were in school compared to 96 percent for natives.[5] In the earlier age 4–7 group, the proportion of children in school is lower for both groups: 74 and 71 percent, respectively. The pattern is similar in California, although the differential between immigrants and natives is slightly larger: three percentage points lower compared to two, nationwide.

Over time, school enrollment rates have declined for both immigrants and natives, although the decline has been slightly larger for the first group. For instance, for the age 8–11 group, participation declined by 3 percent from 99 percent in 1980 for natives and also by 3 percent from 97 percent for immigrants. This decline may be partially explained by an increase in the number of parents teaching their children at home. However, whether this reason also applies to immigrants is unknown.

High School

Immigrants of high school age (15–17) were significantly less likely to be in school than were natives both in 1980 and in 1990. In the latter year, 87 percent of immigrants were in school compared to 93 percent of natives. In California, the differential is even larger: 84 percent compared to 94 percent. Contrary to the pattern noted above for earlier ages, in-school participation of both immigrants and natives has increased between 1980 and 1990. The increase was somewhat larger for immigrants than for natives. These increases are consistent with the outreach efforts made throughout the 1980s to reduce early-drop-out rates.

Nearly all the differential in high school participation rates between immigrants and natives is accounted for by immigrants from Mexico. Table 3.2 shows that in-school participation rates for Asian, black, and white immigrants and natives were similar both in 1980 and in 1990 and both nationwide and in California. Not so for Hispanics. Although, native Hispanic participation rates were only slightly lower than for native Asians and whites and similar to blacks, they were much lower for Hispanic immigrants, most specifically immigrants from Mexico. In 1990 as in 1980, one in four immigrants from Mexico in the 15–17 age group was not in school. In 1990, their in-school rate was nearly 20 percent lower than that of any other immigrant group and 17 percent lower than for natives of Mexican origin.

Such large disparities for just one group of immigrants raise the question of whether these youths are drop-outs from U.S. schools or instead are youths who never entered the U.S. school system in the first place. Whether the first or the second explanation prevails is critical for two reasons. First, the number of such youths is relatively large at any one point in time: 37,000 nationwide and 25,000 in California. Over time, the number of such youths becoming adults lacking a high school education will amount to hundreds of thousands.

And their prospects for success in the U.S. labor market are low (Schoeni, McCarthy, and Vernez, 1996). Second, it is critical to determine whether and how to intervene. If these youths are actually drop-outs from U.S. schools, targeted drop-out prevention programs might help address this problem. But if these youths never "drop in," efforts would need to be directed at overcoming barriers that prevent them from enrolling in school in the first place.

We suspect that the primary reason for low in-school participation rates among Mexican immigrant youths of high school age is that they do not enter the U.S. school system in the first place. On the average, Mexican immigrants have completed seven years of schooling. By the age of fifteen, the average Mexican has been out of school for two years. It should not be surprising, then, that

Table 3.2
In-School Participation Rates of High School Youths, Age 15–17, by Immigration Status and Race/Ethnicity, 1990

	United States		California	
Race/Ethnicity	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant
Asian	95	94	96	95
Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino	96	95	97	95
Other Asian	95	94	95	95
Blacks	91	91	91	93
Hispanic	91	83	93	77
Mexican	91	74	93	74
Other Hispanic	90	88	94	88
White	93	92	95	94

Source: 1990 Public Use Sample of the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

a substantial proportion of Mexican youths who may enter the United States as immigrants at age fifteen or above may simply choose not to enter schools here either by choice, because of inability to catch up with others their age or their native and other immigrant counterparts who have benefited from uninterrupted schooling either here or abroad, or by economic necessity because they must support themselves and their families.

There is some evidence in the literature in support of the hypothesis that some children never "drop in." In their case studies of six school districts and 49 schools within those districts, McDonnell and Hill (1993) write that:

> educators in all the districts we studied reported that schools have great difficulty reaching and holding older students who enter school several years behind. They experience school as a struggle to catch up with courses that are continually moving faster than they can. Students who come from poor areas of their source countries often come from families that expect young people to abandon school in their teens to begin work and marriage. Many see the wages available even in dead-end U.S. jobs as being highly attractive, and some must take any available work to support their brothers and sisters. (pp. 72–73)

Further evidence that many immigrant youths never "drop in" is provided in Table 3.3. It shows 1990s' in-school participation rates separately for three ages: 15, 16, and 17. Participation rates are high and about the same for 15- and 16-

Table 3.3
In-School Participation Rates of High School Age Youths, by Age and Immigration Status, Nationwide, 1990

	Native			Immigrant		
Race/Ethnicity	15	16	17	15	16	17
United States						
Asian						
Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino	97	96	95	96	96	94
Other Asian	98	96	86	97	95	94
Black	94	92	86	96	94	84
Hispanic						
Mexican	95	91	85	85	79	62
Other Hispanic	95	91	86	92	89	82
White	96	94	90	96	94	87
All	96	93	89	92	89	79
California						
Asian						
Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino	96	97	97	98	95	93
Other Asian	98	94	92	96	95	95
Black	94	92	88	95	95	91
Hispanic						
Mexican	95	94	88	85	77	62
Other Hispanic	96	96	89	92	89	82
White	96	95	92	96	94	92
All	96	95	91	91	86	77

Source: 1990 Public Use Sample of the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

year-olds and exhibit a modest decline for 17-year-olds for all immigrants of all racial/ethnic groups with the marked exception of Hispanics, and most especially Mexican immigrants. For the latter, the in-school rate is already low at age 15 and decreases disproportionately (relative to other immigrants) at age 16. By age 17, fewer than two in three Mexican immigrants were in school in 1990—a rate that is more than 25 percent lower than for white, Asian, and black immigrants.

The pattern among natives differs significantly from that of immigrants. Natives of Hispanic origin have similar participation rates to Asians, blacks, and whites up to age 16. However, they as well as black natives experience a somewhat larger decline in in-school participation at age 17 than Asians and whites.

CHAPTER FOUR

Immigrant Youths in High School: Better Prepared for College

How do immigrants who actually enroll in U.S. high schools actually perform? In this chapter, we address this question using data from "High School and Beyond."[6] Our focus is on those activities that are preparatory and/or consistent with eventually pursuing a college education. The college preparation of immigrants in high school is compared across racial/ethnic groups and to natives.

College preparation of high school students has many dimensions: academic, extracurricular, and motivational. Data limitations do not allow us to explore exhaustively all of these dimensions. Here we explore three of them: (1) course-taking patterns; (2) the meeting of college-entry requirements; and (3) motivations. Each of these dimensions are measured by several indicators:

- Course-taking patterns:
  - "Academic track"
  - Years of math and English courses
  - Advanced placement courses
- College requirements:
  - SAT or ACT test
  - Graduation from high school
- Attitudes toward education and college aspirations:
  - Likes to work hard in school
  - Interested in school
  - Plans to go to college
  - Some college is least amount of schooling would be satisfied with
  - Would be disappointed if did not graduate from college

Being on an academic track and taking advanced placement courses are important indicators not only of intent but of capabilities of eventually pursuing a postsecondary education. Also, students on an academic track are more than three times as likely to eventually complete a bachelor's degree than students in a "general" or "vocational" track (U.S. Department of Education Statistics, 1993, Table 301). Graduation from high school and taking the SAT (or ACT) are two "gatekeeping" hurdles that must be overcome to eventually pursue a college education. Finally, whether a student plans to go to college, as well as is motivated to do so, has been found to be associated with eventual college-going.

Course-Taking Pattern

Immigrant high school students are more likely than natives to be following an academic track and a course-taking pattern that is conducive to the eventual pursuit of a college education. Table 4.1 shows a course-taking pattern in which a higher percentage of immigrants than native students were enrolled in an academic track, took more than three years of English and math, and took advanced placement courses in algebra, geometry, trigonometry, calculus, physics, and chemistry. This pattern is consistent whether we compare natives to immigrants as a whole or whether we compare immigrants and natives across ethnic groups. And it is statistically significant: The probability that it could happen by chance alone is less than 2 percent.

Some of the differences between immigrants and natives are particularly striking. Nearly one in two immigrant students was following an academic track compared to two in five for natives. They were also 34 percent more likely to have taken three years or more of mathematics and more likely to have completed advanced courses in algebra, geometry, and calculus. The magnitude of the differences between immigrants and natives increases with the degree of difficulty of the math course. Whereas immigrants were 24 percent more likely than natives to take Algebra 2, they were 41 percent and 29 percent more likely to take trigonometry and calculus, respectively.

Just as immigrant youths in the nation's high schools were more likely to take advanced math courses, they were also more likely to take advanced science courses. They were 57 percent more likely to have taken an advanced physics course and 28 percent more likely to have taken an advanced chemistry course.

The only exception in this favorable course-taking pattern concerns English. Immigrants were slightly less likely to have taken three years of English courses than natives, but the difference is relatively small.

The relationship between immigrants and natives within ethnic groups is also nearly always in the same direction: Immigrants are always more likely than natives from their same ethnic group to have been on an academic track and to have taken advanced placement courses. The largest relative difference between natives and immigrants is encountered among Hispanics and the smallest among Asians.

However, there are significant variations in course-taking patterns across ethnic groups, holding immigration status constant. Again, Hispanics were the least likely of any racial/ethnic group to be placed on an academic track, to take three years of English or math, or to take advanced courses of any kind.

Table 4.1
Percentage of Students on an Academic Track and Taking Advanced Placement Courses in High School, by Race/Ethnicity and Immigration Status

	Ethnic Groups									
	All		Asian		Black		Hispanic		White	
	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant
Academic track	41	47	58	59	37	46	28	40	44	48
Completed courses										
3+ years of English	74	71	79	72	74	73	67	65	76	78
3+ years of math	31	41	46	54	33	42	22	32	32	45
Advanced courses										
Algebra 2	50	63	75	76	42	59	33	53	54	65
Geometry	57	66	78	78	39	57	35	49	62	73
Trigonometry	27	38	48	54	15	30	13	26	31	43
Calculus	9	12	18	25	4	14	5	7	11	14
Physics	21	33	37	49	18	33	15	24	22	35
Chemistry	39	50	57	63	29	58	25	35	42	52

Source: "High School and Beyond."

Note: The probability that a higher proportion of immigrants than natives taking the courses listed could occur by chance alone is less than 2 percent.

The differences were particularly pronounced for native Hispanics: They were 50 percent (or more) less likely to be on an academic track than white and Asian natives, to have taken at least three years of math, or to have taken advanced math. Hispanic immigrants were also less likely to have taken college "gatekeeper" courses than their white and Asian counterparts, but the differences were not as large.

Blacks were somewhat less likely than whites and Asians to have taken college "gatekeeper" courses, but the differences were smaller than for Hispanics, ranging from a 16 percent lower likelihood of being on an academic track to a high 37 percent lower likelihood of having taken advanced geometry.

Meeting College Requirements

Immigrant high school sophomores were no less likely than natives to have graduated from high school within four years from their sophomore year.[7] Table 4.2 shows that 81 percent of immigrant students had graduated compared to 84 percent for natives; this difference is not statistically significant.

Table 4.2 also shows differences in high school graduation rates between immigrants and natives by ethnic groupings. Within these groupings, these differences were generally small and none are significant.

Holding immigration status constant—looking down the columns in Table 4.2—the variations of graduation rates across racial/ethnic groups are similar

Table 4.2
Percentage of 1980 High School Sophomores Who Graduated from High School by Summer 1982, by Immigration Status, Race/Ethnicity, and Gender

	Native	Immigrant
All	83	81
Ethnicity		
Asian	86	95
Black	79	72
Hispanic	75	70
White and other	85	87

Source: "High School and Beyond."

Note: None of the differences between natives and immigrants shown in this table are statistically significant.

Table 4.3
Percentage of High School Students Taking the ACT or SAT Tests, by Race/Ethnicity and Immigration Status

	All		Asian		Black		Hispanic		White	
	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant
Took SAT or ACT	46	46	60	53	37	34	30	38	49	52

Source: "High School and Beyond."

to those noted above for course-taking patterns. Asians and whites were the most likely to graduate from high school whether native or foreign-born. Hispanics were least likely to graduate, with one out of four failing to complete high school within two years of their senior year. These ethnic differences have been well documented in previous research (Koretz, 1990). What our results add to previous findings is that these racial/ethnic differences remain when we separate immigrants from natives. Many colleges, most particularly four-year colleges and universities, also require applicants to take either the SAT or ACT. Here again, immigrant students are just as likely to take these tests as natives, regardless of racial/ethnic grouping (Table 4.3).

Attitudes and Expectations

The information collected in "High School and Beyond" offers an opportunity to compare the attitudes toward education and the college aspirations of high school students and their parents. It clearly shows that immigrant students have more positive views toward schooling and have higher aspirations for a college education than natives (Table 4.4).[8]

Two out of three immigrant youths reported that "they liked working hard in school" compared to one in two natives. Similarly, they were 7 and 12 percent more likely to "plan to go to college" and "to expect to be disappointed should they fail to graduate from college" than their native counterparts, respectively. The probability that the consistent pattern of differences between immigrants and natives exhibited in Table 4.4 could happen by chance alone is less than 2 percent.

The higher educational aspirations of immigrants hold within each racial/ethnic group; the differences are particularly large between Hispanic immi-

Table 4.4

Percentage of High School Seniors with Selected Attitudes toward Postsecondary Education, by Race/Ethnicity and Immigration Status

	All		Asian		Black		Hispanic		White	
	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant
Attitudes toward education										
Likes to work hard in school	52	62	63	66	69	70	53	68	50	56
Interested in school	74	78	83	77	85	79	74	86	73	74
College aspirations										
Plans to go to college	66	73	83	84	67	66	67	72	67	72
Some college is least amount of schooling would be satisfied with	48	57	43	50	43	60	47	71	50	54
Would be disappointed if not college graduate	56	68	72	78	61	61	45	74	57	64

Source: "High School and Beyond."

Note: The probability that the pattern of differences between immigrants and natives shown in this table could have occurred by chance alone is less than 2 percent.

Table 4.5
Percentage of High School Seniors Whose Parents Have Selected Expectations

	All		Asian		Black		Hispanic		White	
	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant	Native	Immigrant
College is father's after-high-school plan for respondent	53	62	73	79	44	52	37	49	56	68
Mother wants respondent to go to college	60	70	80	84	60	66	45	64	62	72

Source: "High School and Beyond."

grants and Hispanic natives. The first were 29 percent more likely than the second to report positive attitudes and high expectations for postsecondary education. Where educational expectations and "working hard" to fulfill them are concerned, Hispanic immigrants are generally similar to immigrants from other ethnic groups. These relative aspirations, however, are not maintained among Hispanic natives, who have the lowest ratings on indicators of college aspirations.

The immigrant parents of immigrant children also hold higher college expectations for their children than native parents, mirroring those of their children. Table 4.5 shows that immigrant parents are more likely to plan for and want their children to go to college after high school. For instance, 71 percent of immigrant mothers want their children to go to college compared to 60 percent for native mothers. This pattern holds for fathers as well and across racial/ethnic groupings. As in all other aspects of preparation for college considered in this chapter, Hispanic native-born parents have the lowest aspirations of any group.[9]

Conclusions

Academic and motivational preparation for college begins early in primary and secondary school and is particularly important at the high school level. We found that in key aspects of preparation for college, immigrants were more likely to make choices consistent with eventual college-going than their native counterparts, regardless of race or ethnicity. They were more likely to follow an academic track, take advanced courses in math and science, take the SAT or ACT, and plan to go to college and work hard to achieve their expectations.

There are variations among immigrants of different ethnic groups just as there are variations among natives of different ethnic groups. Asian immigrants generally performed better on indicators of preparation for college, followed by white and black immigrants. Hispanic immigrants performed the lowest on nearly all indicators of college preparation except motivation and expectations. This pattern among immigrants of different ethnicity is similar to the pattern encountered among natives of different ethnic groups. Native Hispanics score the lowest of any group on indicators of college aspirations.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusions and Policy Implications

The number of immigrant children and youths in American schools, colleges, and universities has increased rapidly over the past twenty years and is expected to continue to increase in years to come. Combined with the children of immigrants born in the United States, they are rapidly changing the racial/ethnic composition of the student body, most particularly in those states where immigrants concentrate, such as California, New York, and Florida. Already today, the majority of students in California's high schools are of Hispanic and Asian origin.

These rapid changes in the composition of the student body have raised questions about the ability of educational institutions to respond effectively to the unique needs of these "new" populations, and in turn about the educational performance of immigrants in American institutions. This concern stems from the fact that immigrant children and the children of immigrants provide a growing share of new entries in the labor force and hence are of increasing importance to the nation's economic future.

This study is the first to systematically focus on the attainment of immigrant children and youths in American schools. Our main findings and their policy implications are summarized below:

1. *Immigrant students and their parents hold more positive attitudes toward schooling and have higher expectations for a college education than native students and their parents.*

Immigrant children and parents of all racial/ethnic groups studied have higher educational aspirations than their native counterparts. However, the difference in aspirations is three times greater between immigrants and natives of Hispanic origin than it is between immigrants and natives of other groups. Where educational aspirations and working hard to fulfill them are concerned, Hispanic immigrants are generally similar to immigrants of other racial/ethnic origins. These relative aspirations, however, are not maintained among Hispanic natives and their parents, who have the lowest ratings on indicators of college aspirations. These findings, based on a national sample, are similar to recent findings based on a study of children in San Diego schools (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco, 1995).

Because we found a significant relationship between attitudes and aspirations toward education of both students and parents on eventual educational attainment, the reasons for this significant decline of educational aspirations encountered among Hispanic youths and their parents should be thoroughly researched.

2. *All else being equal, the higher educational aspirations of immigrants translate into higher rates of college-going for them than for natives.*

Whatever difficulties immigrant children and youths might face adjusting to the language and institutional and cultural norms of this country, their educational attainment equals or exceeds that of native children and youths. We found that holding income, education of parents, and other individual and family factors constant, immigrants were more likely to go to college, not so much because they are immigrants, per se, but because they hold higher educational aspirations. In U.S. high schools, immigrants were also more likely to have been placed on an academic track, to have taken advanced courses in math and sciences, and to have taken the ACT or SAT tests.

Although these findings do not support the need to develop policies targeted uniquely on immigrants, they do mean that the increasing number of immigrants in U.S. schools raises new and unique demands for U.S. educational institutions. Two companion RAND studies—one focusing on responses of primary and secondary schools (McDonnell and Hill, 1993) and the other on responses of postsecondary educational institutions to immigration (Gray and Rolph, 1996)—have documented the current difficulties that schools and colleges are having meeting the special language and social support needs of immigrants and how they are straining their administrative functions and operations. In postsecondary institutions, the growing presence of immigrants also raises fundamental questions regarding graduating requirements (most particularly with respect to proficiency in the English language), equity in the allocation of financial assistance between immigrants and natives, and the definition of "disadvantaged and underrepresented" students in the face of increased diversity. Furthermore, immigration has given rise to new issues that public policy needs to address, as we identify below.

3. *The largest discrepancies in educational attainment are to be found between racial/ethnic groups regardless of immigration status. It is these discrepancies that will present the greatest public policy challenge in years to come.*

It is well documented that the educational attainment of Asians and whites is higher than that of blacks and Hispanics. What this study shows is that the same large differences in educational attainment are to be found among immigrants from different racial/ethnic groups. Hispanic immigrants scored the lowest of any racial/ethnic group on nearly all indicators of course-taking, educational expectations, and college-going considered in this study, just as their native counterparts of Hispanic origin do. At the same time, just as immigrant and native Hispanics' college preparation and college-going rates are consistently the lowest, those of Asians are consistently the highest, with whites and blacks in between.

Continuation of these discrepancies in educational attainment is cause for concern for two reasons. First, Hispanics constitute a growing share of the nation's students—a growth that has been fueled by twenty years of continuous and expanding immigration from Mexico and Central America.[10] Today, one in ten high school students nationwide is of Hispanic origin, about the same proportion as the African American population in high school. That proportion is much higher in some states. In California, one out of every three high school students is of Hispanic origin, and it is expected that at least two out of every five students will be of Hispanic origin by year 2005 within cohorts of students that are expected to be 20 to 25 percent larger than those of today. The level of education that these students achieve will in large part determine the future quality of the labor force.

A second reason is that educational institutions *alone* cannot enhance significantly the educational attainment of Hispanics (and other similarly situated youths). We found that, by and large, the same individual and family factors significantly affect the high school graduation and college-going rates of all racial/ethnic groups and of natives and immigrants. These factors include family resources, education of parents, and attitudes toward and expectations for education of both students and their parents. It is the difference between Hispanics and other racial/ethnic groups in the value of these factors that in most part explains why Hispanics' educational attainment is lower than that of other groups.[11] We have shown in Chapter Two that Hispanics are at least twice as likely to have an income in the lowest quartile and more than three times more likely to have two parents with less than a high school education. And Hispanic students and their parents have lower educational aspirations than members of other ethnic groups.

Income assistance and financial assistance for education can alleviate the income gap between Hispanics and other groups. But funding for these programs is being reduced at the same time as college tuition and fees have been increasing very rapidly. Short of a reversal of current budgetary and policy trends, low income will remain a barrier to the enhancement of educational attainment of not only low-income Hispanics but of all students in low-income families.

The other two factors—low education levels of parents and educational expectations of students and of parents for their children—may not be easily amenable to change. Certainly, programs directed at increasing parental involvement in the education of their children and adult education programs including English language instruction, high school equivalency classes, vocational training, and workshops on effective parenting are steps in the right direction. But demand for these programs far exceeds the supply, and funding for such programs has been declining at the same time as the need for them has been growing. Furthermore, we do not know how effective these relatively new programs are with respect to enhancing the educational attainment of targeted youths. A few English and literacy classes are unlikely to compensate for an education that for many Hispanic immigrant parents stopped at the 8th grade or even below. And we do not fully understand the considerations and processes that affect students' educational expectations and those of parents for their children and why these expectations have been found to decline across generations of immigrants. Further research is needed to develop strategies that specifically address these barriers to increased educational attainment.

4. *Immigrant youths, most particularly those of Hispanic origin, who enter the country after the age of 15 or so, are less likely to enter the U.S. school system or stay in school than children who come at an earlier age. The number of such children is not negligible.*

In-school participation rates of high school age youths are generally similar to those for Asian, black, and white natives, hovering around 91 to 95 percent. In contrast, only 73 percent of immigrant youths of Mexican origin and 88 percent of other Hispanics (mostly Central American) are reported to be in school. We provided some evidence (Chapter Two) that these youths are not just drop-outs from U.S. schools; rather, they are failing to "drop in" to the school system in the first place. In any one year, the number of such immigrant youths has not been very large—about 37,000 and 25,000 nationwide and in California, respectively, or about 4 percent and 2 percent of the high-school-age cohort, respectively. Over time, however, the number of these youths is growing rapidly, reaching hundreds of thousands of young adults without a high school diploma and, hence, with low prospects for economic mobility over their lifetimes.

Strategies to encourage these youths to continue their education in the United States need to be developed. School-based outreach programs may be helpful in this respect, although they will probably not be sufficient. These youths are likely to have been out of school for a year or more in their country of origin even before arriving here. They may also have to work to support themselves and their families. Thus, they may not have the capabilities to pursue an education in U.S. schools without receiving considerable remedial education, and they may face strong financial disincentives to do so in the first place.

In conclusion, today's immigrants may be performing in U.S. educational institutions as well if not better than their native counterparts. But the racial/

ethnic compositional change that has been driven by immigration over the past twenty-five years has created a situation in which a growing segment of the population, primarily of Hispanic origin, significantly lags other racial/ethnic groups in its educational attainment. In some areas of the country, the proportion of such youths exceeds one-third, jeopardizing not only their own future economic opportunities but also the quality of tomorrow's labor force. It is also increasing the demand placed on public services. Enhancing the educational attainment of these children and youths is not a task that the country's educational institutions can accomplish alone. Effective strategies directed at overcoming parental low income, low education, and low educational expectations for their children must also be designed and implemented.

NOTES

1. Georges Vernez and Allan Abrahamse, *How Immigrants Fare in U.S. Education*, MR-718-AMF, Santa Monica, CA: RAND. Used by permission. This report is one of three produced by the Institute on Education and Training, Center for Research on Immigration Policy, RAND (Santa Monica, CA) that examine the participation and performance of immigrant children in U.S. elementary, secondary, and higher education. The other two reports focus on the effects of increasing immigration on U.S. schools and on higher education institutions, respectively: Lorraine M. McDonnell and Paul T. Hill, *Newcomers in American Schools: Meeting the Educational Needs of Immigrant Youth*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, MR-103-AWM/PRIP, 1993; Maryann Jacobi Gray, Elizabeth S. Rolph, and Elan Melamid, *Immigration and Higher Education: Institutional Responses to Changing Demographics*, Santa Monica, Calif.: RAND, MR-751-AMF, 1996.

2. McDonnell and Hill (1993) and Gray and Rolph (1996).

3. Although the current number of immigrants is the highest at any time in U.S. history, its proportion in the U.S. population is lower than in any decade from the middle of the nineteenth century until the 1930s, when it ranged from 13.2 to 14.7 percent.

4. All data analyzed in this chapter were derived from the U.S. Census of Population and Housing.

5. Includes persons who responded yes to the census question of whether they have "attended regular school or college, including nursery school, kindergarten, elementary school, and schooling which leads to a high school diploma or a college degree."

6. See Chapter One for a description of these data and the limitations. HSB is based on a national sample; it did not allow examining separately patterns for California or any other state. Nor did it allow separating Asians and Hispanics into subgroups.

7. The graduation rate was measured two years from the year in which he/she would have normally graduated. Even though 17 percent of sophomores did not complete high school within those two years, almost half of these eventually received a high school degree or an equivalency certificate within six years of their sophomore year (Ogle and Alsalam, 1990, p. 20).

8. In Chapter Six, we examine whether these attitudes and aspirations are associated with participation in postsecondary education.

9. These findings are consistent with recent ones from a survey of 189 adolescent students in Mexico and the United States conducted by Marcelo and Carola Suárez-Orozco and reported in the *Los Angeles Times*, February 22, 1996. They found that Mexican immigrants valued schooling more than second-generation Mexicans. The significant lowering in expectations between Hispanic immigrant youths (and their parents) and Hispanic native youths (and their parents) merits further investigation to determine what may be causing it. Understanding this may be key to helping Hispanics increase their educational attainment. See also Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco (1995).

10. Because Hispanics are younger and have higher fertility rates than other racial/ethnic groups, their relative growth will continue regardless of whether Congress approves legislation that would reduce the level of immigration to that of the 1980s.

11. We do not argue that the individual and family factors considered in this study are the only ones determining educational attainment, only that these factors play a significant role.

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WHAT DOES THE NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL STUDY[1] TELL US ABOUT EDUCATING LANGUAGE MINORITY CHILDREN?

Charles L. Glenn

FOREWORD *BY ROSALIE PEDALINO PORTER, ED.D.*

The National Research Council (NRC) recently published its report on the status of bilingual education research and the direction of future studies. The READ Institute commissioned an analysis of this critical document by Professor Charles L. Glenn of Boston University, who serves on the READ Academic Panel.

The intent of the NRC study is to report on what we know about educating limited-English students at present—twenty-nine years after the first federal law on bilingual education was enacted—and to suggest further research to improve school programs. The authors of this study claim that we do not know very much about how bilingual children learn or how best to teach them, suggesting that many more years of research and much more money is needed to investigate these topics.

Glenn points out what this study actually accomplishes. In its honest appraisal of the field, this study demolishes the myths on which bilingual education is based. While the NRC study treads very gently around each one of the following conclusions, it in fact directly contradicts what has been bilingual education dogma for years:

- There is no evidence yet that there will be long-term advantages or disadvantages to teaching limited-English students in the native language.
- Teaching children to read in English first, instead of in the native language, does not have negative consequences.
- Emphasizing cultural and ethnic differences in the classroom is counterproductive—it leads to stereo-typing, reinforces the differences from majority children, and does not lead to better self-esteem for language minority children.
- There is no research support for the idea that teachers who are themselves members of minority groups are more effective than others who work with children from those same groups.

- The U.S. Department of Education's management of bilingual education research has been a total failure: wasting hundreds of millions of dollars; using the research agenda for political purposes to justify a program that has not proven its worth; and not making its research available to the educators who could use it to improve their school programs.

Glenn reviews this alarming report in measured terms. But he reserves his strongest disapproval for the final recommendations. He insists that there is no sane reason to spend more years searching for a "model" teaching program to play around with, while another generation of language minority students is damaged by inferior schooling. And there is certainly no reason to put any future research in the hands of the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA).

Glenn concludes with several sensible ideas, briefly paraphrased here. It is time we trust what we *do* know about teaching poor children, regardless of ethnic background, taking language into account. Let us stop putting our faith in research on second language acquisition alone. We need to know more about how to overcome the underachievement of Latino children and why they are outperformed by children of other immigrant groups. As Glenn emphasizes in his conclusion, "Bilingual education is not of itself the solution to the underachievement of any group of poor children."

Amherst, Massachusetts
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INTRODUCTION

A few years ago, the distinguished historian of education Carl Kaestle of the University of Chicago wrote an article with the dishearteningly honest title "The Awful Reputation of Education Research."[2] His own reputation needs no defense, nor does that of Stanford's Kenji Hakuta, but the sad fact is that the awful reputation of education research is too often deserved. Or so we are forced to conclude by reading the massive study put together by Hakuta, Kaestle, and others for the National Research Council.[3]

Funded by the U.S. Department of Education and by grants from the Spencer, Carnegie, Pew, MacArthur, Mellon and other foundations, the study reviews the research carried out over the past thirty years on the schooling of what it prefers to refer to as "English-language learners" rather than as "limited-English-proficient" students. It does so, as the name of the report indicates, in order to propose what research should be carried out in the future, and how it should be organized, implemented, and assessed.

The report is not intended, then, as a systematic account of what we can and should learn from the existing research about how to educate language-minority children effectively, but inevitably it will and should be used for that purpose by those who must make decisions *now* about the children who are in our schools *now* and about the teachers who are being trained or retrained *now* to serve those children. There has been too much mystification on the subject, too many assertions that "research proves" this or that when it does no such thing. The reader of this report's 400 pages should come away with at least a healthy agnosticism, and perhaps also with confidence in the few things that it seems we *do* know about what works.

But the "awful reputation" is unfortunately deserved. It turns out that something like $100 million has been spent on research and evaluation of bilingual education over the last thirty years, with remarkably little in the way of bankable results that have been applied to practice. (Editors comment: The current NRC study alone carries a $500,000 price tag.) What we do know after all these years is often not reflected in the practice of school programs, which roll on with a momentum and a logic all their own.

Let's look at what they report that we *do* know with some confidence. The report is divided into sections corresponding to domains of research and practice, which we will consider in turn.

BILINGUALISM AND SECOND-LANGUAGE LEARNING

Bilingualism has different meanings in different contexts and indeed for different individuals, as Joshua Fishman and others have pointed out. The word does not describe a single phenomenon, nor does it of itself tell us whether a given bilingual person is more or less proficient in either of the languages than a given monolingual person. In some cases, the bilingual person may have intellectual advantages, including greater conceptual flexibility, than a monolingual counterpart; in other cases he or she may not reach a high level of functioning in either language. Hakuta[4] and others have shown that much depends upon how a child is exposed to the two languages, though two children with the same opportunities to learn may not become equally bilingual. Social class, natural endowment, family dynamics, and the status of both languages in the child's environment have an enormous, hard-to-disentangle effect; "second-language acquisition is a complex process requiring a diverse set of explanatory factors" (p. 35).

The NRC report provides an interesting overview of research on the relationship between the age at which a second language is studied and the development of proficiency in that language. In brief, older (teenaged) learners are more efficient at mastering vocabulary and grammar, but are not so good at learning to pronounce a new language, and those who learn a language as an adult often never lose their accent, even if they come to use the new language exclusively. "The earlier the better" is not a good rule if efficient learning is the goal, though no harm seems to be done by early exposure to learning a second language and often—as the Canadian immersion studies show—it can result in greater language proficiency over the long run.

Early exposure to English in school for language-minority students is opposed by many bilingual-education advocates, however, often arguing in justification that children with a solid academic background in their first language acquired before coming to the United States tend to do better at academic work in English than do children without such a background. That seems like common sense, but it does not necessarily follow that the child's American school should pretend for five to seven years (the time often advocated) that the child is still in Honduras or Portugal. Nor would this be likely to work.

It seems likely that the main reason that some bilingual education advocates call for teaching language-minority children exclusively or mainly through their home language for the first few years of their schooling in the United States is to seek to retard what otherwise is likely to be a rapid shift to the use of English. Much as some of us would like to think that Americans could become as bilingual as, say, Swedes or Dutch, it seems very unlikely; one study cited "found that the amount of language loss occurring in the United States in a single generation would have taken about 350 years in other nations investigated" (p. 40).

We often assume that the *personality* or the *attitude* of the language-minority student toward learning English are decisive factors, but the NRC report found little evidence for this in the research (page 39). Just about everyone with experience in schools believes that classrooms which stimulate students to use a second language are more likely to help them to learn it, but "few studies have tried to link classroom communication and the learning of linguistic features, and those that have done so have not been successful" (p. 41).

The chapter concludes (as do each of the others that follow) that much more research is needed, even though—or because—the research to date has produced so few usable results.

COGNITIVE ASPECTS OF SCHOOL LEARNING: LITERACY DEVELOPMENT AND CONTENT LEARNING

After a useful discussion of what research outside the bilingual education orbit has found out (and it is quite a lot) about how children in general learn, the NRC report concludes that we don't know much about how any of this applies to language-minority children. "With regard to reading instruction in a second language, there is remarkably little directly relevant research" (p. 59). How should instruction in content areas be sequenced? "At this point, we know next to nothing about these questions" (p. 70).

There are, fortunately, a few glimmers of what we *do* know works for language-minority children. For example, we apparently know that direct instruction in phonics and other "processing" skills is more important for these children than it is for middle-class English monolingual children. While "whole language" methods have their place in stimulating language use, "many believe that [language-minority] children are at considerable risk in classrooms that provide only a whole-language environment with no direct reading instruction" (p. 58). That's important to know.

Other findings are more pedestrian; for example, it is scarcely a breakthrough to learn that "skilled readers can tolerate a small proportion of unknown words in texts...but if the proportion of unknown words is too high, comprehension is disrupted" (p. 62).

The authors take a refreshingly agnostic position on one of the central articles of faith of bilingual-education advocates, that children must be taught to read first in the language which they speak at home. "It is clear," they note,

> that many children first learn to read in a second language without serious negative consequences. These include children in early-immersion, two-way, and English as a second language (ESL)-based programs in North America, as well as those in formerly colonial countries that have maintained the official language [of the colonizer] as the medium of instruction, immigrant children in Israel, children whose parents opt for elite international schools, and many others.... The high literacy achievement of Spanish-speaking children in English-medium Success for All schools...that feature carefully-designed direct literacy instruction suggests that even children from low-literacy homes can learn to read. (p. 60)

Later in the report, indeed, the authors conclude candidly that "We do not yet know whether there will be long-term advantages or disadvantages to initial literacy instruction in the primary language versus English, given a very high-quality program of known effectiveness in both cases" (p. 179). Only those familiar with the field can appreciate how heretical this concession is, and how unwelcome it will be to those who urge that it is essential to postpone exposure to reading in English until reading is solidly mastered in the home language. It is disheartening, however, to learn that

> an insufficient attempt has been made to understand the cognitive processes underlying successful transfer of first-language literacy skill to the second language, the limitations on that transfer, the conditions that optimize positive and minimize negative transfer, or the differences between children who manage learning to read in a second language well and those who do not. (p. 72)

It is as though the celebrated *dicta* of Jim Cummins fifteen to twenty years ago, arguing on the basis of thin research evidence that transfer from first to second language would occur and indeed *must* occur if language-minority children were not to be permanently damaged in their cognitive development,[5] had simply been accepted as sufficient evidence without further investigation of whether this is true, how it might actually occur and what can promote it. Or so it seems from the NRC account.

Perhaps the most interesting—though too brief and general—discussion in this section has to do with how the epistemological characteristics of different academic subjects may affect the ability of students with an uncertain proficiency in English to get their minds around a subject which draws upon domain-specific concepts and syntax (p. 67–68). The authors suggest that "integrating subject-specific terminology into language classes helps English-language learners better comprehend the subject matter" (p. 68).

An important point follows from this. We know that "language interactions—questioning, expert explanations, discussions of alternative solutions, formulation of reasons for conclusions—contribute to the development of understanding of complex subject matter" in any curriculum domain. But what does this imply for how we should ensure that language-minority children can participate effectively in the more advanced levels of the curriculum? Should we hold them back from learning situations that may demand a higher level of functioning in English than they are capable of? Wouldn't that deny them even the opportunity to complete the academic program on a par with other students? Or should we seek to provide all of the more "complex subject matter" in their home language? But quite apart from the practical difficulty and expense of doing so, for how long should or could such "separate but equal" education persist? The longer it went on, surely, the more difficult it would become for students to make the switch to dealing with ever-more-complex material in English.

Finally, how can non-bilingual teachers learn to present academic content in a way that is accessible to language-learners without "watering it down" in a manner which serves neither their interests nor those of the monolingual English-speakers in the classroom? Some complex themes and materials can be presented adequately in ways which are syntactically more clear and comprehensible than is ordinarily the case (and perhaps for the benefit of all students!), but others cannot without a loss of significant nuance. Learning to listen for nuance and subtle connections is an important part of becoming an effective student, and one which should not be withheld from language minority students. Nor is it clear that simplification will always do the trick; "Abedi, for example, simplified items using syntactical structures only and was unsuccessful in increasing performance" by English-language learners (p. 74).

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SCHOOL LEARNING

There may be no aspect of education about which more nonsense is given solemn utterance than about how it is influenced by social and cultural factors. Everyone knows these are real and can even be decisive, but the explanations and remedies are often foolish. The NRC report is refreshingly debunking in this respect.

For example, we are familiar with the research of Stevenson and Stigler, suggesting that Asian parents and children believe that academic success is the result of hard work, with some children simply having to work harder or longer than others to achieve the same results, while Americans attribute success to ability and are wont to say complacently "I'm no good at math." But the NRC report tells us that

> in the United States, however, these ethnic differences are eliminated or even reversed: second-generation Korean American children attribute success to ability more than do European American children...and high achievers across a variety of ethnic groups (African American, Latino, Indochinese American, and European American, all low-income) attribute their success to their high innate ability. (p. 92)

What is more, we learn, "Latino and Indochinese immigrant children...have similar perceptions of parental socialization strategies and similar theories of educational success and failure. Nonetheless, the Indochinese immigrants were found to perform better than the Latino children" (p. 92). Why? And is there anything we can learn from that which could benefit the latter? Not even a speculation is offered, no doubt because of the sensitivity of the theme.

What about intergroup relations in the classroom? Contrary to the common practice of encouraging children to celebrate their ethnic distinctiveness, the NRC study finds that "to increase positive intergroup contact, the salience of group characteristics should be minimized, and a superordinate group with which students from different cultural and language groups can become identified should be constructed" (p. 94).

In other words, well-meaning efforts to persuade the children in a class to identify how they differ "culturally" because of their differing ancestry are likely to be counter-productive. One of my daughters, aged 8, asked me the other evening for help with a homework assignment requiring her to identify her cultural group (she said that the teacher had told one classmate to describe her culture as "white American") and what its customs and values were; she was having difficulty coming up with any ways in which our family differs from those of her Latino and African-American classmates. I explained that "white" and "black" are not cultural categories, and that almost everyone in our society, including the most recent immigrants, share the same values and have the same hopes for their children. My daughter and I made a list of what we wear and eat and what holidays we celebrate and how we believe people should be treated, and agreed that José's family and Ariel's family were probably a lot like us. Differences are interesting, but it is what we have in common which is important.

Perhaps I may be permitted to quote the discussion on this point from my own recent book on the education of immigrant children in twelve countries (gratifyingly cited a number of times by the NRC report). I wrote:

> There is an unfortunate tendency toward stereotyping in attempts to adapt school programs to the supposed demands of cultural diversity. It is conventional wisdom, for example, that Latino pupils recoil from the competitive atmosphere that allegedly rules in American classrooms, and would do better if instruction were organized on a cooperative basis. Actual research on preferred styles, however, has in at least one case found that Anglo pupils were more cooperative than Latino pupils![6] Research has also failed to confirm the belief that Mexican-American teachers, parents, and children differ from their Anglo counterparts in how they perceive classroom interactions.[7] Common sense and the research on styles of cognition suggest that there is far more difference *within* ethnic groups in how individuals learn or relate to school than there is between groups.
>
> Even when there are culturally-based differences in learning style, it is not clear what implications for instruction are appropriate. A study of

> American Indian children in school found that their participation styles were very different from those of non-Indian American children; however, Philips concluded, placing the Indian children in a separate class, while it would reduce that conflict, would prepare them poorly for participation in the wider society. "The point is not that one set of values or behaviors replaces the other, but that the children have access to both sets so that they can form from both their unique bicultural identity."[8] Another study did not "find support for the common conclusion that adapting instruction to Native Americans' learning style will increase achievement."[9] Earlier research found that "culturally relativistic" teachers, influenced by anthropological literature on culture and teaching for altruistic reasons, were ineffective with Indian children and reinforced their differences from majority children.[10]
>
> Attempts to make schools more supportive of minority pupils by incorporating elements of minority cultures run the risk of becoming patronizing.... Too much "sensitivity" can mislead children about the real costs of making it in the dominant culture, a cost that cannot be wished away....
>
> There can also be unanticipated consequences of school programs that stress cultural differences, including reinforcement of the belief, among children, that race and ethnicity are defining characteristics of fundamental importance.[11]

On this aspect of "social context," then, the NRC report could be a corrective to the assumption that we know decisively important things about individual children, and about how to educate them, when we know their ethnic background.

On the other hand, the report does not fall into the opposite mistake of a shallow optimism that we should "just put the children together and let them sort out the differences." Racial and ethnic assumptions are so deeply-rooted in our society (and probably in every society) that deliberate efforts must be made to foster equal status and positive interactions. This could involve, for example, creating situations in which the children who are members of minority groups can draw upon skills and information which they possess—such as a second language—to help a mixed group to complete a task (p. 97).

The report points to the research showing how important what children learn at home is in preparing and sustaining them for successful school experience, but acknowledges that we "know almost nothing about (socialization practices) among Puerto Rican, Santo Domingan, Central American, Vietnamese, Cambodian, Haitian, or Cape Verdean families" (p. 103). It's hard to believe, but that's what they tell us.

STUDENT ASSESSMENT

Potentially the most important chapter in the report, given the current direction of education reform efforts, is that which deals with assessment and its consequences. Since "every assessment is an assessment of language," it is obvious that "aptitude can be seriously underestimated if the test taker is not proficient in the language in which the test is being given" (pp. 120–21).

At present, two conceptions of accountability for academic results are competing in American policy debates—and in Britain as well. One argues that we should set clear standards for what students should be able to know and to do at various stages in their schooling, and devise valid and reliable methods of determining whether they have done so. Consequences should follow from the results of these assessments, though whether the consequences should be for the students themselves, for their individual teachers, or for their schools and school systems is hotly debated.

Critics argue that it is simply unreasonable to expect that language-minority students in general (or, in a variation, poor children in general) will be able to perform as well on assessments conducted through the English language as other ("majority") students in general, and that holding them to the same standards will be unfair to them, to their teachers, and/or to their schools and systems, depending upon which menu of consequences is followed. Instead, a "value-added" approach is urged, by which the achievement of these students would be measured against either: (a) their own earlier achievement or (b) their predicted achievement, based upon well-established ("norm-referenced") assumptions about students similar to them in ethnicity, language-dominance, family characteristics, or some other dimension.

Those who call for uniform standards retort that this is to assume that schools and personal effort are incapable ever of making up for the effects of student background, and that society will or should permanently make allowances for individuals from language-minority groups. Isn't this a form of tracking, with lower expectations for some because of their social class or ethnic identity? Making allowances, they argue, is the easy way out, but we should choose the difficult but essential course of challenging and helping language-minority children to achieve up to the common standards.

A variation on either of these approaches has been to propose that schools and districts be required to meet "opportunity to learn" standards before children are held accountable for their performance on assessments. In one form, this position insists that it's not fair to test children on material which their schools have not taught, and so the curriculum and the assessments should be aligned. On the other hand, because assessments must be standardized in some way if they are to be comparable and thus useful for accountability purposes, the alignment would seem to require that curriculum be standardized. This conflicts not only with our tradition of local control but also with the belief of many that *increased* autonomy at the school level is the key to improved performance.[12]

Another form of "opportunity to learn" is the contention that students and their teachers should not be held accountable for results until all of the conditions—primarily though not exclusively resources—are in place that are necessary for language-minority or other at-risk students to achieve to their maximum potential. Unfortunately, as the NRC report points out, "the research base for defining the most important and effective resources and conditions for English-language learners is very weak" (p. 128).

That is a stunning conclusion, though passed over rather quickly. After all these years and all these studies, we reportedly still don't know what resources and what conditions make a difference for these students. What did those tens of millions of dollars go for? we want to ask. Are we still just flying by the seat of our pants in educating those millions of children? These are questions that come up again and again in reading this painfully honest report.

The trend of national and state policy-making over the past several years is to insist upon the inclusion of language-minority children in programs to assess student performance; this is reflected in the *Department of Education Organization Act* of 1994, in *Goals 2000*, in the reauthorization of *Title I* and *Title VII*, and in the *Reauthorization of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement*, as well as in school reform legislation in Massachusetts and other states. It might seem obvious that we would want to know how well language-minority children are doing in school, but in fact for many years such accountability has been quietly resisted.

Several years ago I served on the Governor's Commission on Bilingual Education in Massachusetts; we found that there was essentially no data on how tens of thousands of students had done over twenty-five years in the state-mandated program, because the state office responsible had never developed a method of ensuring that accountability for results was built in. I was not surprised, since for nearly twenty years, as the state official responsible for urban education and equity, I had fought unsuccessfully to persuade my colleagues in the bilingual education office that knowing how students are doing is essential to holding schools accountable for serving them more effectively. I was told repeatedly—and the State Board was persuaded—that testing language minority students would damage their fragile self-esteem!

The NRC report summarizes the new requirements at the federal level as:

- Standards and assessments are to fully include English-language learners.
- Innovative ways of assessing student performance are encouraged, including modifications to existing instruments for English-language learners.
- Programs are to be evaluated with respect to whether they meet "challenging" performance standards, rather than on a normative or comparative basis.
- Evaluations are to be useful for program improvement as well as program accountability. (page 132)

It sounds, at first blush, as though Congress has come down squarely on the side of uniform high expectations, but it seems likely that there will be a lot of wiggle-room in developing "innovative ways of assessing" and "modifications." For example, why not provide certain assessments in Spanish, to determine whether Latino children are making progress in various academic domains while acquiring proficiency in English? But how do we ensure that a test translated into Spanish still measures the same level of achievement, the experts ask, and in fact many language minority children are not that strong in their first language; "immigrant children may acquire a less-developed knowledge of grammar in their first language as a result of their limited exposure to use of that language in their new communities" (p. 129). Indeed, "a frequent feature of immigrant bilingualism is that seemingly more difficult tasks may be performed better in the second than in the first language (p. 36). It is not clear, then, that testing children in their home language will be any more "fair" than doing so in English.

The NRC report provides an overview of the assessment challenges, but little assurance that solutions are within our grasp if we just make effective use of the results of the past thirty years of research. The authors raise many questions and propose many lines of future research, but offer very few answers.

PROGRAM EVALUATION

A valuable chapter discusses the major evaluations of bilingual education and its alternatives. Perhaps it would be useful to summarize how the NRC review reports the conclusions of those here, without entering into the criticisms raised about the methodology of each.

The American Institutes for Research (1978) study "showed that students in bilingual education programs did not gain more than students not in such programs" (p. 142).

The National Longitudinal Evaluation (1984, 1989) found, among other things, that "too heavy a concentration on any one aspect of the English-language learner's education can detract from achievement in other areas," and that student achievement "is facilitated by different approaches, depending on student background factors." Not surprisingly, "proficiency in mathematics when tested in English seems to require proficiency in English," at least in the later grades (p. 144).

The Immersion Study (1991, and often referred to as the Ramirez study) found little difference in results among three models of instruction, though both those that stressed Spanish and those that stressed English seemed to do better than those that did neither and thus were incoherent. Reassuringly, but hardly a ringing vindication, "students in all three programs realized a growth in English-language and reading skills that was as rapid or more so than the growth that would be expected for these children had they not received any intervention" (p. 145). In other words, at least the programs didn't do them any harm.

The National Research Council Report (1992) on the statistical approaches used in the latter two studies found that they "did not provide decisive evidence about the effectiveness of bilingual programs," but there was some evidence that "kindergarten and first grade students [who] received academic instruction in Spanish had higher achievement in reading than comparable students who received academic instruction in English" (pp. 145–46).

Turning to studies that attempted to summarize and draw conclusions from the results of research, Baker and de Kanter (1981) found that "the case for the effectiveness of transitional bilingual education is so weak that exclusive reliance upon this instruction method is clearly not justified" (p. 146).

Subsequent studies returned to the same research to attempt to squeeze out more definite conclusions. Willig (1985) concluded that there *were* some positive effects of bilingual instruction in all major academic areas. On the other hand, Rossell and Ross (1986) and Rossell and Baker (1996) found that "structured immersion," with a specially trained teacher who is fluent in the native language of the students but teaches exclusively in English, is more effective than instruction through the native language (p. 147). Finally, the U.S. General Accounting Office (1987) conducted a truly goofy study, asking ten experts on bilingual education what they thought about bilingual education, with predictable results.

The conclusion reached by the current NRC report seems entirely sensible:

> we see little value in conducting evaluations to determine which type of program is best. First, the key issue is not finding a program that works for all children and all localities, but rather a set of program components that works for the children in the community of interest.... We think it better to focus on components than on programs. As we argue later, successful bilingual and [English-language] immersion programs may contain many common elements. (p. 149)

Thus do they dismiss as poorly conceived a research strategy that has consumed tens of millions of dollars in federal funds and, more seriously, has provided the pretext not to fix what was obviously broken in our programs for language-minority students until we had the result of yet another large-scale study to provide the definitive answer.

In one of their moments of unintentional comedy, the authors assure the reader that "it would be a serious mistake to say we have learned nothing from the enterprise. We see that five general lessons have been learned from the past twenty-five years of program evaluation:

> 1. Higher-quality program evaluations are needed.
> 2. Local evaluations need to be made more informative.
> 3. Theory-based interventions need to be created and evaluated.
> 4. We need to think in terms of components, not politically motivated labels.
> 5. A developmental model needs to be created for use in predicting the effects of program components on children in different environments. (p. 151)

The non-researcher is stunned by the first two recommendations. Aren't they obvious, haven't they been obvious for twenty-five years? What have evaluators, and those who pay for evaluation, thought they were doing? As the later chapter on "issues related to the research infrastructure" documents painfully, management by the Department of Education of the tens of millions of dollars of program evaluation mandated by Congress has been a total failure. Either those administering the program have been incompetent, or (more likely) they have not taken seriously whether bilingual education was producing solid academic results. Bilingual education has apparently been considered a self-evident good, not as simply a means to the higher good of enabling language minority students to flourish and achieve.

The third recommendation is also obvious, and the fact that it is felt necessary to make it in 1997 is disturbing. "Programs should be designed so they are consistent with what is known about basic learning processes" (p. 155). Yes indeed; that's why we try, in schools of education, to teach future teachers something about how children learn and, increasingly, about how proficiency is developed in a second language. But we would expect that those who have designed programs for language-minority students had taken care to make them consistent with what is known about how children learn.

My hunch, from studying how such programs are designed and adopted in this and other countries, is that the NRC report is quite correct in suggesting that no such care has been taken. Two competing theories have been in the air, each owing more to political than to educational developments: that language-minority children need to be taught for a number of years through their home language, or that children need to be exposed as early and consistently as possible to the language which they will use primarily for the rest of their lives. The advocates of the first position consider those of the second complicit in "linguicide" and cultural imperialism, while being considered in turn guilty of ethnic separatism and self-interest. The debate over what language to use has consumed so much energy that little has been left over for considering what ought to happen between teacher and student, in whatever language. Meanwhile, most teachers have muddled along as best they could with little guidance from solid knowledge about what works.

At this point, the authors of the NRC report drop in one of their little gems of good sense, which we could wish appeared on the cover rather than at page 158. Effective "bilingual" programs and effective "immersion" programs may be quite similar, characterized in both cases by:

- Some native-language instruction, especially initially;
- For most students, a relatively early phasing in of English instruction; and
- Teachers specially trained in instructing English-language learners.

If they were willing (and I have no reason to believe they would not be) to add additional features, early and consistent integration with native speakers of English, and the expectation that they will achieve to the same high standard, we would be in complete agreement. This is consistent with the conclusions of the careful study of the same body of research by Christine Rossell and Keith Baker, itself cited by the NRC report.

STUDIES OF SCHOOL AND CLASSROOM EFFECTIVENESS

The real issue is not program models, but schools and classrooms. Language minority children tend to learn a lot in schools where the other children are also learning a lot, and not to learn much in schools that also don't work for the others. There is thus an appropriate interest in seeing whether we can learn from the "effective schools" research any lessons that would help us to define what is an effective school for language minority students, and perhaps the most important research covered in this report is that along these lines by Carter and Chatfield, Tikunoff, Berman and others.

Unfortunately, the recent fashion has been to define as "effective" schools that are considered by observers to be "exemplary," whether or not there is concrete evidence in student outcomes. The charisma of a principal may thus lead to a school being selected for study, and the study may in turn conclude that a charismatic principal is what is most needed for a school to be effective.

> Independent measures of student achievement are not in the data set reported by most of these investigators. In schools or classrooms with large numbers of English-language learners, this is often the case because investigators could not find adequate student achievement data to verify the validity of the nominations. (p. 166)

As a result, it is difficult to have complete confidence in the prescriptions arising out of this literature, and even more difficult to know how the features of a successful school can be transferred to an unsuccessful school.

Once again, the authors of the NRC report offer some good common sense, suggesting that "one important way to raise teacher expectations is to raise student achievement by creating structures at a school and helping teachers acquire skills and knowledge needed to be more successful with students, rather than by exhorting teachers to raise their expectations" (p. 175). That bears paraphrasing: *don't tell teachers they should have high expectations for what their students will achieve, but show them instead how to help their students to achieve these high expectations.*

Common sense also triumphs in their approval of schools that "plan for the needs of newcomers (newly arrived students who immigrated to this country after the early elementary grades) and include in the design of their programs strategies to meet their needs" (p. 177). Like so much else in the NRC report, this may seem obvious, but in fact it is all too common for such students to be simply dumped into a bilingual class of the appropriate age level, with students who are in their third or fourth year and should be doing their class-work almost exclusively in English. Teachers are then constrained to use the home language much of the time to accommodate the newcomers, with the result that the other children do not progress in English as they should. The presence of newcomers also tends to work against integration of bilingual and regular classes.

The common European model, by contrast, is to put all newcomers into a special reception class for one year or, in rare cases, for two, and then to integrate them into regular classes, with on-going extra support as needed. This usually includes the opportunity to continue, as an elective, to study the heritage language and culture. It should be noted (contrary to the widespread impression here) that most Western European educational systems have a higher proportion of immigrant children than is the case in the United States, and that in none of them are separate bilingual classes the norm.[13]

The NRC report reserves its warmest approval for the Success for All program developed by Robert Slavin and his associates, reporting that it "has significant and important effects on the achievement of English-language learners, regardless of whether they are in a primary language [i.e., 'bilingual'] or sheltered English program." They note also that

> there is nothing in the Success for All literature indicating that cultural validation or cultural accommodation per se is an important element of the program or, indeed, that culture plays any direct role at all (aside from language). Success for All is an intensive, prescriptive, well-conceptualized program designed to help as many children as possible leave third grade reading at grade level. (p. 179)

In effect, Success for All operates on the premise that children are children and deserve to be taught in a challenging and effective way that enables them to succeed. As a result, culturally and organizationally "the program is no different for African American students in Baltimore than for Latinos in bilingual education or sheltered English programs in California or for Cambodians in an ESL program in Philadelphia" (p. 180).

This approach, they note, "runs counter not only to much of the accepted wisdom in the school reform literature, but also to previous efforts to disseminate and replicate effective programs" (p. 191) in its assumption that a model can in effect be plugged in successfully with different teachers and different types of students. If it turns out the Success for All does in fact represent such a replicable package, we may find the question of when to use home language and when to use English becoming a distinctly secondary consideration rather than the all-important symbolic issue it is today.

The authors report that a number of studies of instructional practices have shown, not surprisingly, that "effective teachers for English-language learners use explicit skills instruction for certain tasks, mostly (though not always) to help students acquire basic skills" (p. 181).

The chapter ends with the usual catalog of issues on which more research is needed, some as all-encompassing as "to examine the effects of instructional interventions and social environments on the linguistic, social, and cognitive development of young children" (p. 193) or "to determine the resources required for effective instruction of English-language learners in different contexts" and "the benefits and shortcomings of different improvement strategies" (p. 197), and other issues as concrete as "to assess the effectiveness of newcomer programs" (p. 194).

PREPARATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF TEACHERS

This section of the NRC report focuses upon descriptions of several programs that are considered in one way or another exemplary. Continuing education of teachers is illustrated by the Cooperative Learning in Bilingual Settings project of CRESPAR, the Center for Research in Educating Students Placed at Risk of Johns Hopkins University, and by the English for Speakers of Other Languages project of the Dade County Public Schools. Recruitment of language-minority staff and pre-service education are illustrated by the Latino Teacher Project of the University of Southern California. Re-credentialing of teachers to allow them to work with English-language learners is illustrated by the California Cross-Cultural Language and Academic Development Program (CLAD).

These all seem worthy initiatives, but the report's account is entirely uncritical and seems to rely entirely upon self-reporting by the various programs. No evidence is presented of whether the teachers prepared by one program or another are more effective than other teachers, and in what ways. So we are not surprised that the section on research needs related to teacher training starts from the assumption that we have to learn *everything*. After all, as they note, teacher certification programs in general "have not been empirically validated." They may well ask whether the four exemplary programs described are "based on theory, empirical evidence, or expert judgment?" (p. 268).

There seems, for example, to be no empirical support for the widely held view (the basis of several of the programs described here) that teachers who are themselves members of minority groups are more effective working with children from those groups, or better able to adapt instruction to respond to cultural differences. Research is needed, they report, on what benefit teachers gain from "supervised internships, readings, and classroom discussion." And on "factors, including theoretical knowledge, needed to support teacher learning once in the classroom and ensure that what is learned in professional development is applied in the classroom." We need to ask whether teacher preparation should

> differ for different levels of teachers (i.e., early education, primary, secondary), as well as for teachers with different training and experience (e.g., ESL, mainstream), and if so, how? How are the needs of novice and veteran teachers different, and how does staff development accommodate these differences? (p. 269)

These questions are taken from the first three sections of research needs; seven more follow, and it would be wearisome to recount all the things we should, but don't, know according to the NRC report. Or is it possible that we do know something about what makes good teachers, but it is slippery to grasp what that is through research?

ESTIMATING POPULATION PARAMETERS

Do we even know how many children we are talking about who need special services to acquire the ability to perform ordinary classwork in English? Apparently not, despite the mountains of data which have been collected from every public school and most non-public schools. According to the 1990 U.S. Census, we are told, 907,563 school-aged children spoke English "not well or not at all," while 1,480,680 spoke it "well" and 3,934,691 "very well." In the very next sentence we are told of an "estimate" of the number of "English language learners" in schools was a suspiciously-exact 2,314,079 (p. 18). Are we to assume that many of this latter group are among those reported to speak English well? Of course, it may be that language-minority parents are over-impressed with the ability of their children in English.

The difficulty is knowing when a child's poor showing on a language assessment results from dominance in another language, and when he simply functions in English at the restricted level characteristic of millions of poor children, urban and rural, who are in no true sense bilingual (though they may be bi-dialectical to some degree). If the latter is the case, they are not going to be helped by instruction through a language in which they may be even less proficient than they are in English. We have tended to confuse the needs of the newly arrived immigrant who is fluent and perhaps even well schooled in a language other than English with the second- or third-generation member of an ethnic group which has largely switched to the use of English (at whatever level of academic sophistication) in the home.

European as well as American studies on language use in the home has found that, even among the first generation of immigrants, it is common for parents

Home Language of Mexicans in the United States, 1989–1990[15]

Language reportedly spoken at home (in %); remaining responses "both"	**Only English**	**Mostly English**	**Mostly Spanish**	**Only Spanish**
Foreign-born	2.9	6.1	26.2	52.3
Two foreign-born parents	12.3	28.9	17.1	7.0
One foreign-born parent	21.9	41.1	13.4	1.8
Two native-born parents	42.2	29.8	1.2	1.6
At least one native-born grandparent	36.3	34.0	5.6	1.5

to use the heritage language between themselves consistently and with the children usually, but for the children to use the host country language among themselves consistently and to some extent with their parents. That is, the children may speak the heritage language seldom, though understanding it when spoken by their elders.[14]

In fact, as the NRC study points out, "there is no common definition of limited English proficiency that would yield commonality across studies, states, or even districts within given states" (p. 299). One thing we do know, unfortunately, is that there is considerable academic failure among the Hispanic pupils who make up 73 percent of the language-minority total.

> Hispanic children (a group that includes English monolinguals as well as Spanish-speaking bilinguals), for example, score well below their non-Hispanic peers in reading throughout the elementary school years and end up on average about 4 years behind in secondary school. (p. 58)

Since black pupils also experience academic difficulties in disproportionate numbers, while immigrant children from non-Hispanic homes tend to do quite well in school, it might be worth asking whether there are factors other than unfamiliarity with English which play a decisive role. John Ogbu's hypothesis of essential differences between "voluntary" and "involuntary" minorities, or Jeff Howard's theory of why many black youth lack a sense of efficacy, and what can be done about that, might have more to offer to the effort to improve the achievement of Latino youth than more linguistic and cognitive research.

Social determinants and cultural factors in fact confound all attempts to show a clear connection between particular "treatments" and particular results, and yet the agenda of school-based research can by its nature take little account of factors in the wider society which are likely to have considerably more impact on how fast language acquisition and language shift occur than are any changes in classroom practices. Whether Haitian immigrant youth in general make their way through the American educational system successfully or not is likely to depend upon how they perceive the opportunities open to them in the wider society, and whether they identify with middle class or underclass African-American models, much more than with how many years of instruction they are given through Kreyol. Indeed, a case could be made that the greatest benefit to many immigrant children of being in a separate bilingual class has been to limit their exposure to the peer culture of inner-city youth.

The under-achievement of Hispanics in the United States and of Turks and Moroccans in northwestern Europe, I suggested in my recent book, may have less to do with language differences than with their status in the society and how they come to terms with that status. "Cultural differences" (a notably imprecise term) may work either for or against success. Portes and Zhou contrast Haitians in Miami with Sikhs in California, arguing that the cultural distance and lack of adaptation of the latter help to explain their relative success. Haitian immigrant youth in Miami, by contrast, are overly quick to assimilate to the American models of behavior and attitude most available to them.

> Native-born black youth stereotype the Haitian youngsters as docile and subservient to whites, and make fun of the Haitians' French and Creole as well as their accents [in English]. As a result, second-generation Haitian children find themselves torn between conflicting ideas and values: to remain "Haitian," they must endure ostracism and continuing attacks in school; to become "American" (black American in this case), they must forgo their parents' dreams of making it in America through the preservation of ethnic solidarity and traditional values.... As the Haitian example illustrates, adopting the outlook and cultural ways of the native born does not necessarily represent the first step toward social and economic mobility. It may, in fact, lead to exactly the opposite. Meanwhile, immigrant youth who remain firmly ensconced in their ethnic communities may, by virtue of this fact, have a better chance for educational and economic mobility.[16]

Of course, the dysfunctional assimilation experienced by some Haitian youth is as much an indictment of a society that has not prevented the development of a demoralized underclass as it is of the choices made by young Haitians to identify with it. The readiness of immigrants to make a success of their new lives is, as Ogbu points out, generally admirable; the relevant question may be, whether the United States and other Western societies have lost their power to assimilate newcomers, whether they can recover the unspoken conviction and unquestioned habits that allow a civil society to function even as those who make it up change.[17]

ISSUES RELATED TO THE RESEARCH INFRASTRUCTURE

It is this chapter, and the related appendices, which cause the reader's heart to sink. So many organizations and bureaus and centers with a piece of the research action, and so little good independent research being done, apparently. Because little of the available funding is provided for field-initiated research, the story of research in bilingual education is really the story of sponsored and commissioned research and evaluation. The authors state the case with their typical gentleness:

> In retrospect, however, the past 20 years has not been a heyday for research on this topic.... Nor did the research systematically contribute to improvements in practice, partly because of problems with the research methodology—an over-reliance on large-scale evaluations and effective/nominated schools research, as well as faulty and weak mechanisms for oversight of the research enterprise. (p. 377)

At the heart of the unsatisfactory progress in learning how to educate language-minority children most effectively seems to be the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs (OBEMLA). The problem seems to be three-fold: (1) lack of competence to manage a complex research agenda (p. 315); (2) commitment to using research to bolster the case for the existing bilingual strategy, heavy with symbolic and political significance, rather than to learn what works; and (3) failure to make what is learned from the funded research available for improvement of school practice. OBEMLA's "capacity to manage research has been inconsistent [or consistently poor?] and a frequent source of controversy" (p. 361). The authors report that "even within OBEMLA, officials who worked in Title VII [bilingual education] program administration were either unaware of research results produced in OBEMLA studies or unclear about their implications" (p. 384).

Despite occasional gestures toward pulling together research results and making them available,

> instances of such synthesizing activities are outweighed in the historical record by complaints of inattention to results. There are two related problems: one is whether the agencies do anything with the research they have funded (read it, understand it, critique it, synthesize it, disseminate it); the second is whether researchers in the field have a sense of evidence being amassed, of new directions and questions coming from completed

> research, and of relatively secure knowledge accumulating.... The frequent complaints about ignored reports and lack of synthesis are symptomatic of the weak infrastructure of education research in general and of research on English-language learners in particular. (pp. 319–20)

The authors report that a budget analyst sought, in 1992, to review the 91 research or evaluation studies that had been carried out with $47 million from OBEMLA between 1980 and 1991, He could not find final reports for 40 of them, since all research files for the period 1978 to 1985 had been thrown away. Of those remaining, he judged that at best 29 might be useful in formulating policy (p. 384). Whether in fact any were used to this end seems doubtful.

As a remedy, the authors propose the establishment of yet another coordinating committee to set the agenda for research and monitor what the various funding agencies and research centers do. They are concerned that "English-language learners are not incorporated into many studies that purport to be about all students," which would seem to suggest the desirability of more effective integration, while on the other hand they stress "the need to target resources deliberately and well toward understanding issues that are specifically about English-language learners" (p. 332). The difficulty, as I know from my own experience in government, is that the existence of a unit concerned with a target population tends to function as a license for everyone else to ignore that population. The fact that tens of millions of dollars have been earmarked for research on bilingual education has no doubt encouraged others concerned with research to believe that they don't need to make special efforts to include the needs of language-minority children.

The report recommends that the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs play a leading role in setting and overseeing the research agenda. That seems wrongheaded, perpetuating the political domination of research in this field. How can OBEMLA be trusted as an unbiased messenger or build consensus when it itself is—and probably must be—an advocate for particular interests and approaches? That seems to me a strong reason to separate it completely from research, and from the evaluation of the programs which it funds. OBEMLA should concentrate upon encouraging states and school systems to implement "instruction that is grounded in basic knowledge" already available "about the linguistic, cognitive, and social development of language minority children" (p. 4). The funding and coordination of research and evaluation should be completely separate and insulated from advocacy, ensuring that the needs of language-minority students are part of the overall educational research agenda. Research and evaluation should not reinforce by their separate development the segregated schooling that too many of them now receive. As more is learned, the instructional models will undoubtedly change, but OBEMLA should not be responsible for the evaluation of the efforts for which it is the designated advocate. Too much is at stake.

The intensely ideological nature of the issue of language-minority education (alluded to here and there in the report) is not given enough weight in the discussion of the research system. The authors recommend, for example, that "researchers and agency officials with deep research knowledge" should make the decisions about what research is funded, but in fact few of these individuals possess the objectivity that would allow research to flourish that would threaten the existing paradigm. Kenji Hakuta, as chairman of the NRC study, may attribute to others his own well-deserved reputation for objectivity.

There does seem to be a fundamental inconsistency, in a report documenting at painful length how chaotic and unproductive is government oversight of the research effort in second-language acquisition, of recommending more government coordination.

In summary, the NRC report's review of the present state of knowledge, and of how we have managed to obtain such limited results with such a major expenditure of funding for research and evaluation, are useful, accurate (so far as I am in a position to judge), and significant, but the conclusions seem rather too conventional, too content to color between the lines. The reader who has never engaged in research on language acquisition is astonished to learn how many agencies and centers have a finger in the pie, and is tempted to believe that more might be accomplished if all of them got out of the business of managing research.

A few hundred or thousand researchers based in universities and school systems, with modest grants, and subject to the disciplines of peer review that are already well established in professional circles, and communicating their results by the well-established channels which already exist independent of government, would be likely to advance the state of our knowledge far better than the present over-managed system which has produced such dismal results.

PRIORITIES FOR RESEARCH

There is a disconnection between the fine review of what we do and do not know now, and the research agenda laid out in this chapter. It is not that the proposed research priorities are poorly chosen, or that it would be uninteresting to know the results of such research. The questions raised are interesting, but I have a sense that they are raised too late, at least for the purpose of guiding policy and practice in the education of language-minority children. These are the questions which should have formed the research agenda twenty-five years ago, before the expenditure of two billion dollars of federal and unknown billions of dollars of state funds on an instructional approach that, as the authors point out, was an act of faith not based upon solid research or evaluation.

More importantly, these questions should have been asked and answered before two entire generations of language-minority students passed through our schools, from kindergarten through high school (those who persisted), with in all too many cases an inadequate education.

Some of what we apparently already know from research is so obvious, of course, that it seems scarcely worth finding out: "For example, Spanish-speaking children score higher on National Assessment of Educational Progress vocabulary items that have Spanish cognates (such a 'fiesta') than would be predicted by their overall performance on the assessment" (p. 352). Does that mean we should include more such items, or eliminate them altogether lest these children have an unfair advantage?

But important and serious questions are also raised in this chapter, and we can only hope that many researchers will be inspired—and funded—to address them. Every advance in knowledge in this area is a good thing. It is not clear, however, that it is necessary—or feasible—to have research-based answers to these questions before choices are made about how to educate language-minority children. Too often in the past those choices have been deferred pending another study or another review of research. If it accomplishes nothing else, the NRC report should demonstrate conclusively that such delay is irresponsible. We should get on with what we already know, and part of what we know is that there is no magic bullet or one-size-fits-all solution that can be worked out by researchers and applied in every school.

The NRC report insists that we continue to pursue the chimera of determining, through research and evaluation, what the best "model" of education would be, even though they have shown that we know very little about how different children from different language groups and different social circumstances learn different skills and different subjects in different schools. They call for "a model of instruction that is grounded in basic knowledge about the linguistic, cognitive, and social development of language minority children. This model would be rich enough to suggest different programs for different types of students" (p. 4). What sort of a coherent model could possibly take into account all of the human and institutional and curricula differences?

Despite this hesitation, the reader is tempted to say, Great, let's do it! Let's be sure that states and school systems are implementing good programs based upon solid research, and that they have adequate resources and good teachers to do so well. But that's not what the authors have in mind. "It would take time to formulate such a model," they continue, even though we have tons (literally) of government-funded research as well as experience with programs in thousands of schools; surely there must be someone smart and experienced enough to sit down and write up what we have already learned in an accessible way, so we can go ahead and start educating better?

When the model has been developed by "researchers from very different backgrounds" (and think how long it would take for them to agree!), the authors write, it

> would be implemented in a small number of settings.... Throughout implementation, the process would be observed and described, and the implementation would be reworked. Once successful implementation has been demonstrated, the programs would be formally evaluated for outcomes.... Hypotheses could be generated about the generalizability of the findings to new sites.... At this point, the programs could be disseminated as promising, and experimentation in other local sites encouraged. Once the model had been validated across a wide range of settings...[and so forth]. (p. 4)

Years and years and years, no doubt, added to the thirty years during which such "pilot" efforts have been designed and implemented and evaluated countless times. And meanwhile linguistic minority children have been, by all accounts (though with some notable exceptions which should be replicated vigorously), deplorably educated. *Basta*, enough! Policy and practice should move ahead with what we already know.

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, Kenji Hakuta and his associates in the NRC study report that we know a fair amount from research about how children acquire a second language, but not much about whether language minority (hereafter "LM") children are doing so or how to make them successful in their academic subjects. The report suggests that

> [p]riority should be given to legitimate research questions that are of strong interest to...educators, policymakers, and the public at large.... The major areas of concern common to these groups are program evaluation and accountability, the extent to which students are acquiring English and progressing academically, and the characteristics of programs that promote student development. (p. 7)

As is so often the case, the reader wants to ask what in Heaven's name researchers and evaluators and those who set them to their tasks think they have been doing for the past thirty years if this has to be spelled out now? And why have we kept mandating a particular form of schooling for language-minority children if we know so little about whether it is working?

In fact, as the report correctly notes, federal and state policies supporting bilingual education were adopted in a "leap of faith," and "basic research did not help inform practice. Nor did program evaluation research..." (p. 24). And what research and evaluation did not do before this educational strategy was developed (bilingual education was mandated in Massachusetts in 1971, and is mandated still!), they apparently have not done since.

I want to try to be fair. It is possible that, in order to make a strong case that a great deal of research should be undertaken (and funded by the government and foundations) in every conceivable direction, the authors of the NRC report have over-emphasized what we *don't* know from the enormous and very expensive amount of research and evaluation which has already been done. If that is their strategy, it may prove a dangerous one: non-researchers like me are tempted to conclude that more research would be throwing good money after bad, and that the effort should instead go into training classroom teachers in those techniques of instruction that we have reason to believe are effective.

My colleague Maria Brisk contends that we know a lot about good *practices*; that what we do not know about, and perhaps will never know about in view of the complexity and variation of all the factors involved, is what a complete *model* of good schooling for language-minority children would be. If she is right (and I greatly respect her experience, knowledge and integrity), we should be teaching those practices to every teacher and administrator, not just to those who are preparing to work in separate bilingual programs. Every teacher and every administrator needs to know about and understand the reasons for sound and proven practices in educating the language-minority children who are very likely to turn up in their schools.[18]

Her position is in fact consistent with the fine print of the NRC report, which concedes that "we need to move away from thinking about programs in such broad terms and instead see them as containing multiple components—features that are available to meet the differing needs of particular students" (p. 158). Having made that concession, however, the report returns to the call for an overall developmental model which would "predict exact [!] nonlinear growth trajectories for the major abilities—not only the mean or typical trajectories, but also their variability" and so forth (p. 158).

I am not competent to judge whether such a model is feasible or whether it will ever be developed and validated; perhaps it would be a very good thing if that were done. Those who work in education or pedagogy as an academic discipline have long sought to make the field an exact science comparable to the natural or even, more modestly, to the social sciences, with strong and reliable predictive power. If such a general theory of learning "linguistic, social, and cognitive skills" is ever developed, it should of course take language-minority children into account. May it happen, and soon.

But until that glad day comes, I think I know enough of our present policies and practices and of their results to conclude that the interests of language-minority children in our schools will be better served by principled and theory-based experimentation on effective schooling of poor children of whatever ethnic background, taking language into account in how they are assessed and taught, than by putting our faith in research on second-language acquisition. We already seem to know a fair amount, through research, about how to develop bilingualism among middle-class children, especially if their parents are bilingual, but we know very little about how to overcome the academic under-achievement of Latino youth, or why they are out-performed by youth from other immigrant groups.

The promising work of Robert Slavin and CRESPAR, the Center for Research in Educating Students Placed at Risk of Johns Hopkins University, is a good example of such an approach. Neither for nor against bilingual education, it seeks simply to prevent under-achievement by providing a coherent instructional program. This and other ways of organizing instruction for results can be adapted to include among its objectives the development of proficiency in two languages, those of the home and of the school, if that is the freely-chosen goal of parents. Much of the research discussed in the NRC report could help to achieve that goal, if ways can be found to translate it into practice.

What cannot be justified, however, is to continue substituting a preoccupation with the language of instruction for the essential concern that instruction be effective. Bilingual education, it has become clear, is not of itself a solution to the under-achievement of any group of poor children. It is time that those of us who support bilingual education—in my case, by sending five of my children to an inner-city bilingual school—insist upon honesty about its goals and its limits. Bilingual education is a way to teach children to be bilingual, but it possesses no magic answer to the challenge of educating children at risk. Bilingualism is a very good thing indeed, but what language-minority children need most is schools that expect and enable them to succeed through providing a demanding academic program, taught very well and without compromise, schools which respect the ways in which children differ but insist that these differences must not be barriers to equal opportunity.

NOTES

1. *Improving Schooling for Language-Minority Children: A Research Agenda*, the National Research Council study reviewed here is the work of a committee of twelve research scholars led by Professor Kenji Hakuta of Stanford University and Dr. Diane August of the Council staff. It is a two-year study funded by the U.S. Department of Education and several private foundations.
2. Carl F. Kaestle, "The Awful Reputation of Education Research," *Educational Researcher*, January/February 1993, 23–31.
3. Diane August and Kenji Hakuta, editors, *Improving Schooling for Language-Minority Children: A Research Agenda*, Washington, D.C.: National Research Council, 1997.
4. Kenji Hakuta, *Mirror of Language: The Debate on Bilingualism*, New York: Basic Books, 1986.
5. For a characteristic statement, see Jim Cummins, "The Role of Primary Language Development in Promoting Educational Success for Language Minority Students," in *Schooling and Language Minority Students*, Sacramento: Office of Bilingual Education, California State Department of Education, 1982.
6. P. Concha, L. Garcia, & A. Perez, "Cooperation versus Competition: A Comparison of Anglo-American and Cuban-American Youngsters in Miami," *Social Psychology*, 95, 1975, 273–274.
7. I. S. Stewart, "Cultural Differences between Anglos and Chicanos," *Integrated Education*, 13 (6) 1975, 21–23.
8. Quoted by Sandra Lee McKay, "Weighing Educational Alternatives," in McKay & Sau-ling Cynthia Wong, editors, *Language Diversity: Problem or Resource?* Cambridge: Newbury House, 1988, 350.
9. Kleinfeld & Nelson, 1988, quoted by A. Lynette Pitman, "The Debacle of Native American Education," typescript, 1995, 25.
10. J. Kleinfeld, "Positive Stereotyping: The Cultural Relativist in the Classroom," *Human Organization*, 34, 1975, 269–274.
11. Charles L. Glenn with Ester J. de Jong, *Educating Immigrant Children: Schools and Language Minorities in Twelve Nations*, New York: Garland, 1996, 614–15.
12. My own take on this is that a sensible solution would be to define more clearly than in the past what students should know and be able to do, but leave individual schools more free than in the past to decide how they will help students to meet that expectation.

13. See Glenn and de Jong, 1996, pages 403–501.
14. For a more extensive discussion, see chapter 5 "The Languages of Immigrants" of Glenn and de Jong, pages 251–334.
15. Adapted from Rodolfo O. De la Garza, A. Falcon, F.C. Garcia, & J. Garcia, J., "Mexican Immigrants, Mexican Americans, and American Political Culture," in Barry Edmonston & Jeffrey S. Passel, editors, *Immigration and Ethnicity*, Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1994, 237.
16. Alejandro Portes and Min Zhou, "Should Immigrants Assimilate?" *The Public Interest*, 116, Summer 1994, 20–21.
17. Micha Brumlik, "Was heißt Integration? Zur Semantik eines sozialen Problems," in Ahmet Bayaz, Mario Damolin & Heiko Ernst, editors, *Integration: Anpassung an die Deutschen?* Weinheim and Basel: Beltz Verlag, 1984, 81.
18. A good place to start would be with Brisk's forthcoming *Bilingual Education: From Compensatory to Quality Education* (Lawrence Erlbaum).

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